DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 216 452 EA 014 636

TITLE What Do We Know about Private Schools? Proceedings of a Conference of the Horace Mann Learning Center and the National Center for Education Statistics (Washington, DC April 7, 1981).

INSTITUTION Horace Mann Learning Center (ED), Washington, DC.; National Center for Education Statistics (ED), Washington, DC.

PUB DATE 7 Apr 81

NOTE 258p.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC11 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS *Catholic Schools; Educational Policy; Financial Support; High Schools; Hispanic Americans; Longitudinal Studies; *Outcomes of Education; *Private Education; *Private Schools; Program Effectiveness; Public Policy; Public Support; Racial Segregation; Religious Discrimination; Research Methodology; School Demography; Social Discrimination; Social Science Research; Socioeconomic Status; Sociology; Statistical Data; Statistical Studies; Tables (Data); Tax Credits; Tuition

IDENTIFIERS *High School and Beyond (NCES); *Public and Private Schools (Coleman et al)

ABSTRACT

During the spring of 1980, 59,000 students from over 1,000 public and private high schools were surveyed to obtain base-year data for a projected longitudinal study entitled "High School and Beyond." Intended to provide background information for making policy decisions, the study focused on four specific policy concerns: discipline, Hispanics, work, and private schools. This document is a verbatim transcript of an April, 1981 conference at which James Coleman, the project's principal investigator, presented his draft report on private schools. The report focused primarily on whether or not the data bore out the claims made favoring or opposing federal support for private education. The central issues in this debate are whether the quality of cognitive and affective learning is greater in private schools than in public schools, and whether private schooling is a divisive force in our society. The conference also included a report by Andrew Greeley of his work on the impact of Catholic education, based on the same survey data. A discussion of both reports by eight experts and responses to questions from the audience, concerned particularly with methodological matters and with the findings' implications for federal educational policy, concluded the conference. (Author/PGD)

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# WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT PRIVATE SCHOOLS?

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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Tuesday, April 7, 1981

L'Enfant Plaza Hotel

Washington, D. C.

EA 014 636

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# PROCEEDINGS

MS. ELDRIDGE: I would like to call the forum to order.

I must admit that as I approached this ballroom I was somewhat taken aback when I saw the poster, "What do we know about Public Schools?". I thought, my God, we've been pre-empted. Somebody is running some stiff competition, but I decided it would be easier to assume that you all know that that was a bureaucratic slip-up in the printshop, and that you all would show up. And I am very glad you are here.

I would like to welcome you all to today's forum which is jointly sponsored by the Horace Mann Learning Center and the National Center for Education Statistics.

I want to personally thank each of you for coming, because I believe the test of this forum is not totally dependent upon our speakers and our panelists, but on you, the attendees. I see many familiar faces, and I sense a climate of great interest in the subject that we are going to discuss this morning.

It is important that we move into the main agenda as quickly as possible since we have this room only until 5:00 o'clock tonight. And I sense a great interest on the part of the speakers, the panelists and the attendees to express their

views. However, for those of you who are not intimately familiar with NCES, it is important to understand our role in this forum. The Center is a statutorily apolitical statistical agency charged with the collection and dissemination of information on the condition of education in the country.

I am confident that many of you are familiar with our annual publication, "The Condition of Education," which provides current, relevant data each year to assist in the evaluation of policy decisions in the education field. We have a longstanding history of conducting longitudinal studies.

The first dealt with the high school class of 1972 and has popularly been called the NLS, the National Longitudinal Study. We have followed those seniors through their post-secondary education and work periodically to provide insight into the progress of students during their transition from school and work.

In the mid-seventies it became apparent to us that a subsequent longitudinal study would not only provide more current data on our high school students, but would enhance immeasurably the data collected from the earlier cohort which has become a national asset.

In fiscal year 1977 a competitive contract was awarded to the National Opinion Research Center with James Coleman

as principal investigator to conduct the base-year study of this new effort, now called "High School and Beyond."

This involved considerable front-end design to assure that the data would be not only policy-relevant, but could be compared with the earlier data base. NORC has carried out their responsibilities in the most expeditious manner. Extensive probing for policy issues preceding the final questionnaire design was conducted.

Sophomores as well as seniors were included in order to look at drop-outs which were not included in the earlier study. The survey was administered during the spring of 1980 to 59,000 students in a thousand plus public and private high schools throughout the nation. The data were edited and tapes with full documentation were released by NCES in February, less than a year after the survey was conducted.

Last month we released a summary report covering all variables in the study. A review of that report evidences the wide array of subjects covered by this project, "High School and Beyond."

I mention this only to place today's forum in its proper perspective. In April 1980 four analytic reports dealing with discipline, Hispanics, work and private schools were identified as subjects which were timely and addressable

relatively quickly. Today we are discussing Dr. Coleman's draft report submitted on private schools. The other reports should follow shortly.

NCES is releasing this report to the public forum for two purposes, first, to assist the authors in the preparation of their final report, recognizing the significant impact it will have on policy deliberations currently under way.

I believe the current issue of "Newsweek" indicates that the Coleman report is going to be somewhat more than an academic footnote.

Secondly, to provide valuable guidance from knowledgeable researchers, practitioners and policymakers to the Center as we formulate our plans for future work in this area.

Dr. Greeley, also from the NORC staff, is a guest of the Center and is being afforded an opportunity along with Dr. Coleman to share his findings. Dr. Greeley's research, in which he utilizes the same "High School and Beyond" data, was sponsored by the Ford and Spencer Foundations.

The press has given considerable attention to these papers already. I hope that everyone recognizes that the intent of today's meeting is to provide constructive assistance to both the authors and NCES, as well as to stimulate additional work in this area on the part of other researchers and

statisticians. Dr. Coleman's report, which was supported by NCES, reflects his views and is probably not the only report that will be written on this subject.

The anticipated advantage of the format we are using is to enhance the debate and to permit persons of all persuasions to objectively evaluate the findings to date. In structuring the composition of the panel and the audience, we have brought together diverse and knowledgeable perspectives.

You have in your handouts, I believe, the vita on each person formally participating, who I will very quickly introduce now to you, although I am sure that they basically need no introduction.

Jim Coleman is Professor of sociology at the University of Chicago and Senior Study Director at NORC. He has just completed the book, "Longitudinal Data Analysis," to be published by Basic Books. He received his Ph.D. degree from Columbia University in sociology and is, of course, the author of the somewhat earlier Coleman report which may well become Coleman No. 1, and this will become Coleman No. 2.

Dr. Andrew Greeley is Professor of sociology, University of Arizona and Director of the Center of American Pluralism, National Opinion Research Center. He is a well known author in the areas of admissity, private schools and

religion in American life, and has his own syndicated column which many of us will want to follow very carefully.

Gail Thomas is a sociologist of education and Research Scientist and Project Director at my alma mater, Johns Hopkins, at their Center for Social Organization of Schools. Her areas of specialization are race and sex differences in educational attainment, black students in higher education and social and educational research methodology.

Dr. Thomas' publications include a new book, a copy of which she brought along, "Black Students in Higher Education in the 1970s." A little plug for Gail. By Greenwood Press. Does everybody see it? She was awarded her Ph.D. with honors from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Dave Breneman is a senior fellow in the Economic Studies Division of the Brookings Institute and a former colleague of mine when he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Policy in the Department of HEW. You remember when that existed.

Don Erickson is Director and Founder of the Center for Research and Private Education, University of San Francisco. He is founder and past president of the Associates for Research in Private Education. Donald has been called upon to testify in a variety of legal cases involving private education. He is

currently directing a fascinating longitudinal study to determine the effects of financial assistance to private schools in British Columbia and Canada.

Diane Ravitch is an Associate Professor of history and education at Teachers College, Columbia University. She has published extensively on educational politics, history and testing. She is the recipient of a Guggenheim fellowship and a member of the National Academy of Education.

Michael Olivas is Director of Research to the League of the United Latin American Citizens National Education Service Centers --that's a mouthful -- in Washington, D. C. He has recently been appointed to the Federal Education Data Acquisition Council by the Secretary of Education. NCES was pleased to have Dr. Olivas as co-author of our 1980 publication, "The Condition of Hispanic Education."

Checker Finn is known to most of you, I'm sure. He is the Legislative Director in the office of Senator Moynihan. He has served as Staff Assistant to the President, Special Assistant for Education to the Governor of Massachusetts and another assignment which involves the specialties of government policies and politics of education.

His latest book, "Scholars, Dollars and Bureaucratics." I don't have a copy of that.

Albert Ayars, the practitioner on our panel, is Superintendent of Schools in Norfolk, Virginia. He was Superintendent in three Districts, and also a high school Principal in the State of Washington. His book, "Administering the People's Schools," found wide international use. And I notice in his vita he adds he has eight children and eight grandchildren, so I think he brings a perspective that is very, very broad.

Our last panelist is Ellis Page who serves on the Planning Committee for "High School and Beyond," Chairman of the Planning Committee. And when he isn't doing that, he is Professor of education, psychology and research at Duke University.

He has also taught in California high schools and various colleges and universities. He is past president of the American Education Research Association.

I think you can see from those thumbnail sketches that we have an extremely broad and representative group of panelists that will only be supplemented to some extent by the audience itself.

I would now like to turn the meeting over to Mr. Victor Wenk, the Deputy Administrator of NCES, who is going to have the unique pleasure of monitoring this session.

MR. WENK: Thank you, Mrs. Eldridge. Let me add

my welcome to distinguished guest speakers, panelists and the audience. Thank you again for your willingness to participate in this second policy forum for National Center for Education Statistics.

Today's dialogue is going to be of great interest to many. No doubt many different views will be expressed today and in the days after this in other arenas.

In the interest of allowing the fullest possible range of discussion today, I would like to explain some of the ground rules we have established for the conduct of today's forum. Each of you should have a registrant's packet of information which has been designed to aid you. In that packet you will find additional biographical information about our guest speakers and panelists, along with an agenda.

I would like to call your attention to the agenda. You will note the day is divided into four major segments. The first segment is the speakers' presentations. That will consume one hour and 15 minutes. The panelist's individual reviews and comments, each panelist consuming about 15 minutes, will be the second component of the meeting. There will then be 45 minutes for the speakers to respond to the panelists, and two hours for the audience to respond to the earlier discussions and would direct the audience's questions to be addressed by

either speaker or panelists or both.

The day will be quite full and I feel I must be a rather strict taskmaster in assuring that our schedule will be adhered to in an orderly way so that all may have an opportunity to participate as planned.

And, panelists, I would appreciate it if you would hold your questions and comments until your scheduled turn arrives. And for members of the audience, if you would please note your comments and questions and hold them until the two-hour segment this afternoon, I believe we can accomplish our objectives. At that time, during the audience participation section of the conference, the chair will recognize individuals from the floor.

Today's forum, for your information, is being recorded by a court reporter and a transcript will be prepared.

Dr. Coleman, the podium is yours.

DR. COLEMAN: Thank you very much, Victor.

First of all, I would like to emphasize or re-emphasize something that Marie Eldridge said first. Two points that this is only one of several policy areas for which the data of "High School and Beyond" are collected, and second, that those data are in the public domain. These data are not to be analyzed by one set of analysts, whether NCES or NORC, or

whoever. Our feeling, as well as the feeling of NCES, is that the use of social science data for any policy is best served if there are multiple analyses of a given topic with whatever data sets are available. And so I would like to encourage those of you who are of that bent to make use of these data.

Now, to turn to the question of public and private schools, first of all I would like to introduce my co-authors on this report who, unfortunately, all three of us can't get up here and talk at the same time. But Thomas Hoffer whom I haven't seen, must be somewhere here. Would you stand up, Tom? Tom Hoffer and Sally Kilgore.

Now, first of all it's useful to get an idea of the current scope of private education. Private education is greatest in the East; about 13 percent of high school students go to private schools in the East. It's least in the Mountain States less than five percent of all high school students go to private schools in the Mountain States. In Washington, D. C. it's 14 percent which is higher than any State. In the country as a whole it's a little over nine percent. There are a little over nine percent of the students in private school, a little over 90, somewhere over 90 percent, a little over 90 percent in the public schools. About two thirds of the students in private schools are in Catholic schools and one third are in

other private schools.

Now, only a minority of these other private schools are what are traditionally thought of as the private schools, that is the independent schools. Many of the other private schools are themselves religious schools.

There have been a variety of policy proposals to increase the roles of private schools, and there have been a variety of policy proposals to restrict the use of private schools. And these policies rest on a variety of premises regarding public and private schools.

So one way of looking at these data, or one way of looking at the results which I am going to discuss and other analyses which I am certain will be carried out with regard to these data is to regard these analyses as those which examine some of the premises that underly the policy proposals that would affect the role of private schools in American education.

It's the premises and not the policy proposals themselves for which research of this sort can provide information, that is policy proposals also based on various value premises, but the research can provide some evidence with regard to the factual premises on which those proposals are based.

What I would like to do is to read a few factual premises on which the research which I am going to report on

will provide some evidence. First of all, I will read seven premises which are premises for those who would increase the role of private schools.

The first one is that private schools produce better cognitive outcomes than do public schools with comparable students.

The second is that they provide better character and personality development than public schools do.

The third is that private schools provide a safer, more disciplined and more ordered environment than public schools do.

A fourth one is that private schools are more successful in creating an interest in learning than public schools are.

A fifth one is that private schools encourage interest in higher education and lead more of their students to attend college than do public schools with comparable students.

A sixth one is that private schools are smaller, and as a consequence, they bring about greater amount of participation in sports and other activities than public schools do.

Seventh premise is that private schools have smaller class sizes, and in that way they allow teachers and students to have greater contact.

Now, similarly there is a set of premises that underlie policies that would decrease the role of private schools. Incidentally, I should say that the role of private schools has been roughly constant throughout the past 50 years or so, throughout about the past 50 years in American education. Around ten percent of all students in American elementary and secondary education have been in private schools, plus or minus three or four percent.

Premises that underlie policies that decrease the role of private schools include these. First, private schools are socially divisive along income lines. They cream the students from higher-income backgrounds and they segregate them into these schools.

Second is that private schools are divisive along religious lines. They segregate religious groups in separate schools.

A third is that private schools are divisive along racial lines in two ways. First of all they contain few blacks or other minorities, and in that way they segregate whites in private schools from blacks in white schools.

And third, the private sector itself is more racially segregated than the public sector.

The fourth premise is that private schools don't

provide the educational range the public schools do, especially in vocational and other nontraditional courses or programs.

A fifth is that private schools have a narrower range of extracurricular activities, and in that way they deprive their students from participation in school activities outside the classroom.

A sixth is that private schools are unhealthfully competitive, and because of that the public schools provide a healthier affective development.

A seventh is that facilitating the use of private schools aids whites more than it does blacks, that it aids those better off financially at the expense of those worse off financially, and as a result, it increases racial and economic segregation.

Now, what I would like to do is provide some evidence with respect to some of the premises, not with respect to all of them, but with respect to some of them.

The first broad point that I will examine has to do with the distribution of Hispanics, non-Hispanic blacks and non-Hispanic whites in public, Catholic and other private schools. Incidentally, what I will do throughout my presentation is to focus on three categories of schools: public, Catholic and other private. As I said, this is about 90 percent of the student

body, about six percent of the student body and about three percent of the student body. In a few cases I will look at some special schools in the public sector and in the private sector which one can call high-performance public schools or high-performance private schools which are especially selected to look at extreme cases.

Now, the very first point with regard to the distribution of whites, blacks and Hispanics in public, Catholic and other private schools is that there are in the public schools 76 percent whites in the public schools, 85 percent whites in the Catholic schools and 89 percent whites in other private schools, 14 percent blacks; six percent blacks in the Catholic schools and three percent blacks in the other private schools.

Among Hispanics there are seven percent Hispanics in the public schools, seven percent Hispanics in the Catholic schools and four percent in the private schools. Now, I won't keep citing statistics to you throughout, but the kind of generalization that one can draw from this is that first of all, there are fewer blacks in the Catholic schools than in the public schools, only about half; and only about a quarter as many blacks in the other private schools as in the public schools. There is the same proportion of Hispanics in the Catholic schools as in the public schools, and only a little

over half of the proportion of Hispanics in other private schools as there are in the public schools.

Now I would like to show you a few graphs. Could I have the first graph, please?

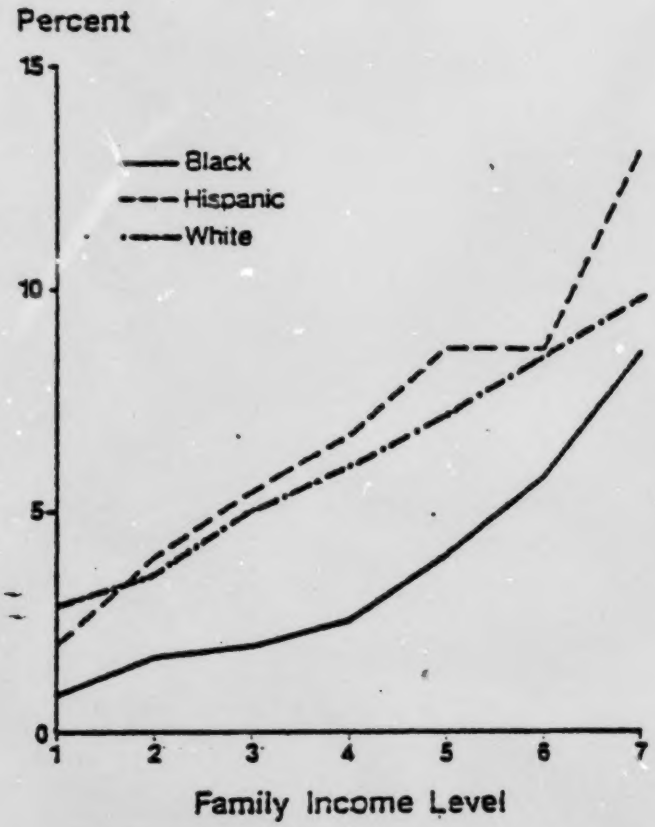


Fig. 3.1.1. Percent of students from differing income levels in Catholic schools, by race and ethnicity: Spring 1980.

First of all, we can look at this according to income level. That graph there, don't pay any attention to

the text, becaure the graph is taken from the report. That graph shows, the three lines on this graph are Hispanic, non-Hispanic whites and blacks. The line which is the highest line is the line for Hispanics. The horizontal axis represents income level. To the left is low income; to the right is high income. And the vertical axis represents the proportion or the percentage of students at each of those income levels for each of the three race or ethnic groups that are in Catholic schools.

Now, what the graph shows is that at almost every income level there is a higher proportion of Hispanics in Catholic schools -- that's the highest line -- except for the lowest income level, than either whites or blacks. And there is a lower proportion of blacks in Catholic schools than there is of either whites or Hispanics.

There are a few other things to note with regard to this graph, and that is that the rate of increase in likelihood of attendance at Catholic schools is greatest for Hispanics. That is as income goes up from the lowest to the highest level, it's greatest for Hispanics. It's lowest for blacks at the low income level, but it's higher for blacks at the medium and high income level than it is for whites, for non-Hispanic whites.

Could I have the second graph, please?

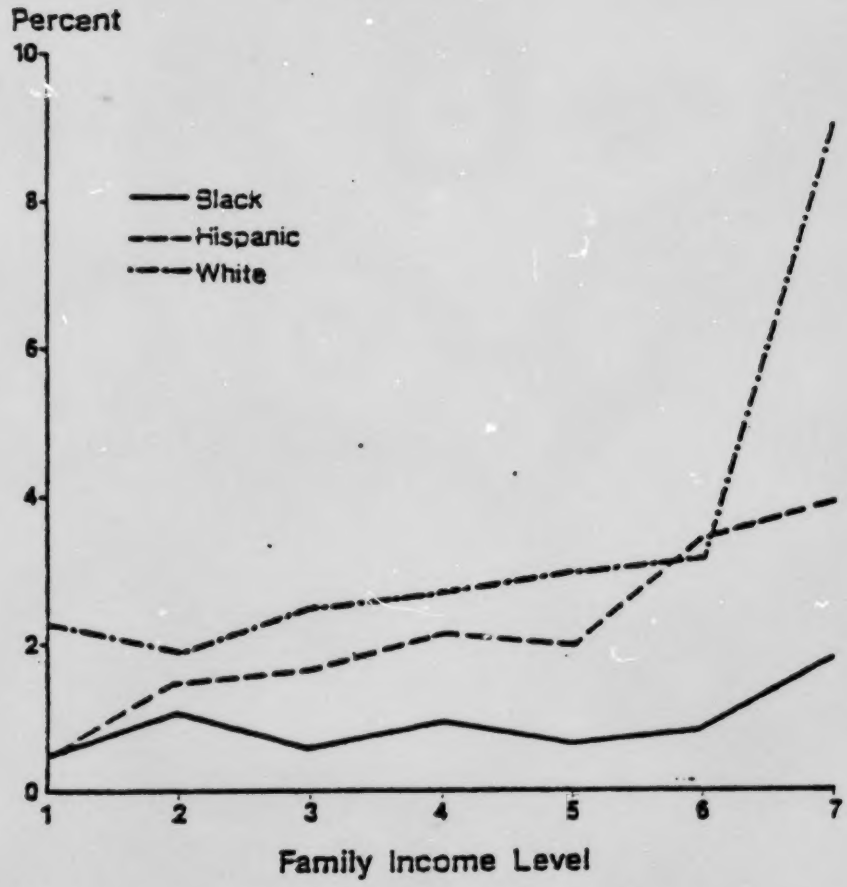


Fig. 3.1.2. Percent of students from differing income levels in other private schools, by race and ethnicity: Spring 1980.

The second graph shows the same thing in non-Catholic schools. That shows a very different picture. Again, the solid line is blacks. The middle line, Hispanics. And the line which goes up very far at the end is non-Hispanic whites.

Now, you will see that, first of all, the proportions

of blacks in other private schools is very small, less than one percent of almost every income level. It's small for each group, but it goes up to some degree for Hispanics. It goes up very sharply for non-Hispanic whites at the highest income level.

Could I have the next graph, please?

Again, because there are differences in income distribution among blacks, whites, and Hispanics, Catholics from these three groups who have the same income levels should be enrolled at rates somewhat different from those shown in either figure 3.1.1 or table 3.1.3. Figures 3.1.3 and 3.1.4 show, for blacks, whites, and Hispanics at each income level, the enrollment rates for Catholics and non-Catholics separately.

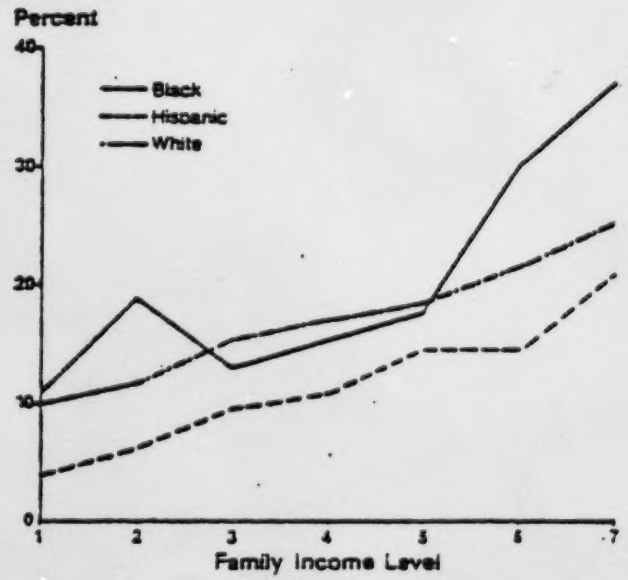


Fig. 3.1.3. Percent of Catholic students from differing income levels in Catholic schools, by race and ethnicity: Spring 1980.

Next, it's useful to see what happens when we look only in Catholic schools at blacks, Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites, at the proportion in Catholic schools. And what happens is the matter reverses itself, except that the two middle income levels in which the proportion of blacks is slightly lower than that of non-Hispanic whites, the proportion of Catholic blacks -- what this is is only for Catholics -- the proportion of Catholic blacks who are in parochial schools, that is Catholic schools, is higher than the proportion of Catholic whites and lowest to the proportion of Catholic Hispanics.

Now, nearly all Hispanics are Catholic, but the proportion of Catholic Hispanics who are in Catholic schools is lower than either whites or blacks.

Could I have the next graph, please.

(The next graph appears on the next page.)

We could look also at the same thing among non-Catholics. Among non-Catholics it's also the case that the proportion of blacks is highest at nearly all income levels in the Catholic schools. That is Catholic schools, when one looks only at persons of a given income level and a given religion, blacks are more likely than are whites, or than are Hispanics attend Catholic schools.

Now, there is a second question then. Well, first of

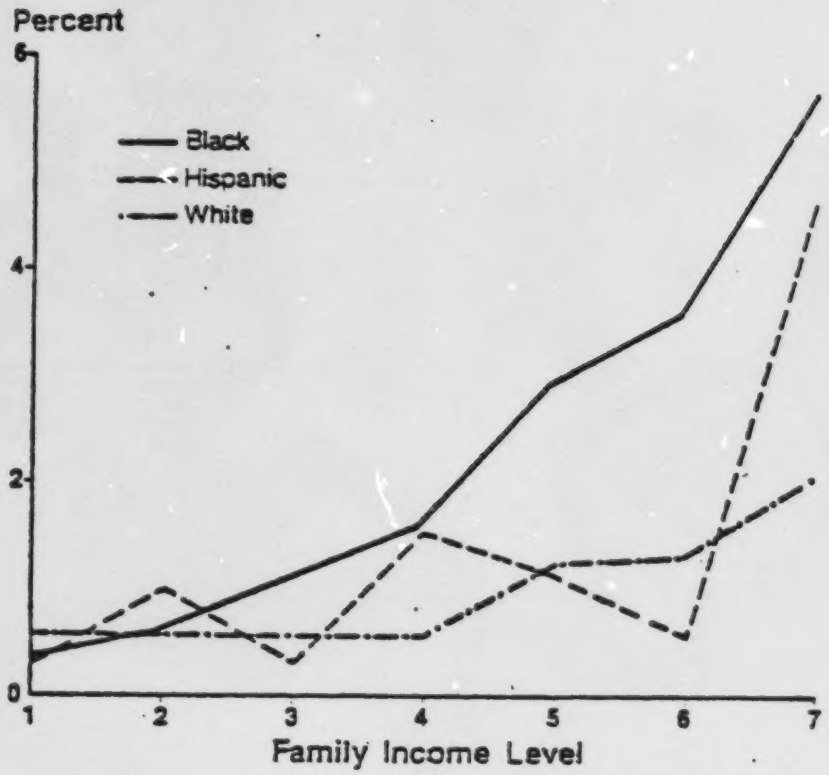


Fig. 3.1.4. Percent of non-Catholic students from differing income levels in Catholic schools, by race and ethnicity: Spring 1980.

all, I should summarize that by saying, if one doesn't look at income or at economic level or at religion at all, blacks are the smallest proportion in either Catholic or other private schools. They stay a small proportion in other private schools throughout.

Hispanics are equally represented in Catholic schools and in public schools. But now when one controls on religion and income, the proportion of blacks in Catholic schools is

considerably higher, and as that shows, it reverses compared to controlling on income alone.

Now, there is a second question having to do with original policy issue, the issue having to do with the divisive or segregative character of private education. And that is given the proportion of blacks, whites and Hispanics in each of the types of schools, what is the segregation within the sector. In other words, what is the segregation within the private sector; what is the segregation within the Catholic portion of the private sector, within the other proportion of the private sector; and what is the degree of segregation within the public sector.

Now, there are various ways of measuring that. Sociologists or people who do these things ordinarily use some kind of index which ranges from zero to one. If the index is zero, it means there is no segregation at all. That is persons are distributed evenly across all schools. If the index is 1.0, that means that segregation is as high as it possibly could be.

Could I have the next table?

Could you try to focus that a little better? Can people see that? I'm really only interested in the bottom two lines. (This table follows on the next page.)

TABLE 3.1.4

INDICES OF INTERRACIAL AND INTERETHNIC CONTACT AND SEGREGATION IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS: SPRING 1980

| Measure | U.S. Total | Public | Private | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Total | Catholic | Other Private |
| Overall proportions | | | | | |
| Non-Hispanic whites... | .767 | .756 | .862 | .846 | .893 |
| Non-Hispanic blacks... | .128 | .137 | .047 | .056 | .030 |
| Hispanics..... | .070 | .071 | .062 | .071 | .044 |
| Index of Contact, $s_{ij}$ | | | | | |
| For Whites and Blacks | | | | | |
| Proportion of the average black's schoolmates who who are white, $s_{bw}$.. | .39 | .38 | .61 | .58 | .71 |
| Proportion of the agerage white's schoolmates who are black, $s_{wb}$ ..... | .07 | .07 | .03 | .04 | .02 |
| For Whites and Hispanics | | | | | |
| Proportion of the average Hispanic's schoolmates who are white, $s_{hw}$ ..... | .53 | .53 | .57 | .63 | .40 |
| Proportion of the average white's schoolmates who are Hispanic, $s_{wh}$ ... | .05 | .05 | .04 | .05 | .02 |
| Index of segregation, $r_{ij}$ (ranges from 0 = no segregation to 1 = complete segregation)[a] | | | | | |
| Segregation of blacks and whites ..... | .49 | .49 | .29 | .31 | .21 |
| Segregation of Hispanics and whites... | .30 | .30 | .34 | .25 | .55 |

[a]For the method of calculating the values of $s_{ij}$ and $r_{ij}$, see appendix A. Although the value of $r_{ij}$ is theorectically identical to the value of $r_{ji}$, slight discrepancies will occur because of rounding.

If you look at the bottom two lines under "Private" at the second-from-bottom line, the one that begins with the .49, the .49 is the degree of segregation between blacks and whites in American secondary education as a whole. That's about half as high as it could be, half way between completely integrated and completely segregated.

In the Public sector which is the second column that degree of segregation is the same .49. In the private sector as a whole, that degree of segregation is .29.

The next-to-last column is the Catholic schools and the right-hand column is the other private schools. It's .31 in the Catholic schools and .21 in the other private schools. What these numbers do is they take as given the proportion of students of each race which are in the schools, and say, given that proportion, what is the degree of segregation within that sector.

And what this shows is that the degree of segregation within the sector, forgetting about the proportion of students of each race that are in that sector, the degree of segregation within the sector is much higher in the public sector than it is in either of the private sectors considered alone or the private sector taken as a whole. That is in comparison of .49 to .29.

Now, we could carry out a hypothetical experiment, that hypothetical experiment being let's suppose the private school students were redistributed back into the public schools in exactly the same way that public school students are currently distributed in the public schools. What would happen to the degree of segregation in American education as a whole.

Well, the degree of segregation in American education as a whole, as you can see, is .49. That's the most left-hand number. And what would happen as a result of the hypothetical experiment, that is if blacks and whites were redistributed into public schools in exactly the way that public school students are currently distributed, it's again a .49, because that's exactly what we have in the public sector.

So that that redistribution would have no effect either way on the degree of segregation, degree of racial segregation between whites and blacks in American secondary education.

The last line, the bottom line, shows that the degree of segregation between Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites is less than that between blacks and whites. This is .30. In the U. S. as a whole it's .30. In the public sector it's .30. In the private sector as a whole it's .34; in the Catholic section of the private sector it's .25; and .55, although there

are very few Hispanics on the basis of which that last number is calculated in the other private sector.

If you look again at the two left-hand numbers, .30 and .30, the redistribution of private school students into the public schools, it would have no effect either way on the degree of segregation between blacks and Hispanics.

Now, I'd like to turn to the economic distribution of students in each of the three sectors. Could I have the next chart, please?

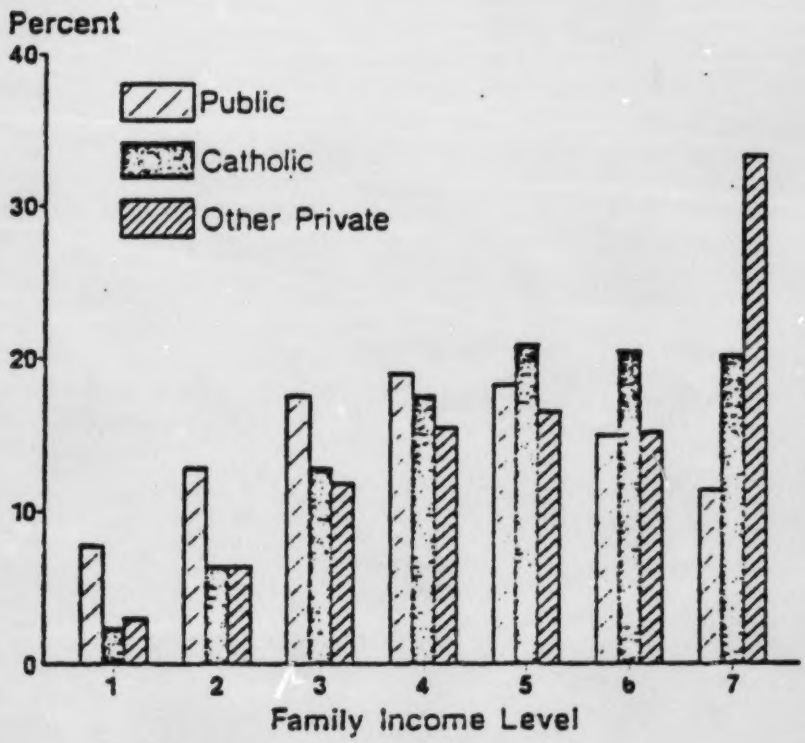


Fig. 3.2.1. Percent of students in public, Catholic, and other private schools, by family income level: Spring 1980.

Economic distribution is given by this chart. I hate to give you a lot of different kinds of charts, but anyway, I promise that this will be the last chart you'll have to read. There will be a lot of tables.

There are three bars that go up for each income level. Again, there are seven income levels along the bottom. Along the side again is the percent, and there are three bars in each income level.

The left-hand bar represents the percentage of students in that income level in the public schools. The middle bar is the percentage of students in Catholic schools at that income level. And the right-hand bar is the percentage of students in other private schools at that income level.

Now, if you just look at the left-hand bar and go across from the first to the seventh income level, you will see that it goes up and then down. That's a kind of normal distribution of income, or that's the distribution of income in the public schools.

If you look at the second bar, if you can kind of extract that out and look at that, it goes up and then levels off. So there is a higher proportion at the higher income levels in Catholic schools, and if you look at the right-hand bar, what happens is at the highest income level that shoots

up fairly high, although there is representation, as you can see, of all except the very lowest income levels in both the Catholic and other private schools. It's not as high a representation as in the public schools, but there is fairly broad representation, except there is this spike at the end in the highest income level which is above $38,000 family income.

Now, we can again ask the question of what is the internal segregation within each of the sectors given the number of students in each economic background that are in each of the three schools.

Could I have the next graph, please?

(The graph follows on the next page.)

And again if you look just at the bottom number, this gives an index of segregation between students whose family background is below $12,000 and students whose family background is above $20,000. What that shows is that if you look at the second and third columns, .21 and .16, the degree of segregation in the private sector as a whole with respect to income -- again, remembering that this is taking as given the income distribution within that private sector -- is slightly less than that in the public sector which is .21.

The degree of segregation in the United States as a whole between these two income groups is .23. So if we carried

TABLE 3.2.2

INDICES OF CONTACT AND SEGREGATION OF PUPILS FROM HIGHER AND LOWER INCOME FAMILIES IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS: SPRING 1980

| Measure | U.S. Total | Public | Private | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Total | Catholic | Other Private |
| Overall Proportions: | | | | | |
| High Income ("over $20,000" on BB100)[a] | .429 | .411 | .595 | .577 | .629 |
| Low Income ("under $12,000" on BB100)[a] | .178 | .188 | .084 | .082 | .086 |
| Index of Contact, $s_{ij}$[b] | | | | | |
| Proportion of the average low income student's schoolmates who are from high income families | .331 | .323 | .499 | .476 | .542 |
| Proportion of the average high income student's schoolmates who are from low income families | .137 | .148 | .070 | .068 | .075 |
| Index of segregation, $r_{ij}$[b] | | | | | |
| Segregation of high income students from low income students | .23 | .21 | .16 | .18 | .14 |

[a]Taken from responses to BB100, "Which (of three groups) comes closest to the amount of money your family makes in a year?".

[b]For the method calculating the values of $s_{ij}$ and $r_{ij}$, see the Appendix. Although the value of $r_{ij}$ is theoretically identical to the value of $r_{ji}$, slight discrepancies will occur due to rounding.

* * *

out the same hypothetical experiment that we carried out again, we would move from the degree of segregation of .23 to .21. We would slightly reduce the degree of economic segregation if private school students went back into the public sector. It would be reduced from .23 to .21.

Now, we can look at the same thing with respect to religious segregation. All we can look at there, because of the numbers, is Catholic versus other religious background, and obviously, since there are Catholic schools and non-Catholic private schools, then it is the case that we should expect some degree of segregation.

I can say something about the overall distribution. The public schools are themselves, the public high schools are about 31 percent Catholic themselves. The Catholic schools are 91 percent Catholic. The other private schools are 17 percent Catholic. So it's not the case that there are no Catholics in the public schools, and no Catholics in other private schools, but there are a very high proportion of Catholics in the Catholic schools.

Could I have the next chart, please?

(This chart follows on Page 34.)

TABLE 3.3.2

INDICES OF CATHOLIC/OTHER RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND CONTACT AND SEGREGATION IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS: SPRING 1980

| Measure | U.S. Total | Public | Private | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Total | Catholic | Other Private |
| Overall Proportions: | | | | | |
| Catholics | .342 | .307 | .658 | .909 | .174 |
| Other religious background | .658 | .693 | .342 | .091 | .826 |
| Index of contact, $s_{ij}$, for Catholics and "Others": | | | | | |
| Proportion of the average Catholic's schoolmates who are "Other" | .462 | .541 | .127 | .081 | .590 |
| Proportion of the average "Other's" schoolmates who are Catholic | .241 | .240 | .244 | .805 | .125 |
| Index of segregation, $r_{ij}$ (ranges from 0 = no segregation to 1 = complete segregation)[a] | .30 | .22 | .63 | .11 | .28 |

[a]For the method of calculating the values of $s_{ij}$ and $r_{ij}$, see appendix A. Although the value of $r_{ij}$ is theoretically identical to the value of $r_{ji}$, slight discrepancies will occur because of rounding.

* * *

Although it is not a tautology as some of you well know, a large number of the blacks, for example, who are in Catholic schools are not Catholic.

Now, if you look again at the bottom line here, we find a different picture, very different picture from what we found with regard to racial segregation and economic segregation. If you look again at the second and third columns within the public school, the degree of Catholic/non-Catholic segregation is .22. Within the private schools as a whole it's .63 which is the highest number we've encountered so far. That's largely because of the fact that most of the Catholics that are in private education are in Catholic schools, and most of the non-Catholics are in non-Catholic schools. So it's .63.

Now, again, if we compare the first two columns, we find that currently the degree of Catholic/non-Catholic segregation in American education is .30. If the private schools were disbanded and students were redistributed as Catholics and non-Catholics are currently distributed in the private schools, that would be reduced to .22. So there would be a substantial, I think one would say, reduction in the degree of Catholic/non-Catholic segregation if there were no private schools.

Now, I would like to present a few statistics about organization of the schools. Could I have No. 10, please.

TABLE 4.2.1

STAFFING RATIOS FOR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS: SPRING 1980
($\bar{X}$ number of students per staff type[a])

| Staff | Major Sectors | | | High-Performance Schools | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Public | Catholic | Other Private | Public | Private |
| Total number of schools | 16,051 | 1,572 | 3,123 | 12 | 11 |
| Mean enrollment | 757 | 546 | 153 | 1,386 | 310 |
| General professional staff: | | | | | |
| Overall ratio | 15 | 16 | 8 | 15 | 7 |
| A. Teachers | 16 | 18 | 7 | 18 | 8 |
| B. Assistant Principals, Deans | 503 | 410 | 120 | 433 | 163 |
| C. Counselors | 323 | 235 | 55 | 284 | 182 |
| D. Librarians and Media Specialists | 597 | 340 | 212 | 696 | 163 |
| E. Remedial Specialists | 504 | 891 | 382 | 563 | 0 |
| F. Psychologists | 2,025 | 4,579 | 1,177 | 2,064 | 1,033 |
| Other staff: | | | | | |
| A. Teacher aides | 349 | 2,549 | 124 | 380 | 1,033 |
| B. Volunteers | 839 | 385 | 101 | 312 | 344 |
| C. Security Guards | 1,824 | 17,055 | 780 | 1,868 | 1,395 |

[a] Ratio = $\frac{\text{weighted enrollment}}{\text{weighted number of full-time equilivant staff}}$.

First, I just want you to look at two rows in this chart which are very striking, which shows the contrast between, on the one hand, the public schools and the Catholic schools, and on the other hand the other private schools. You will notice the right-hand two columns have to do with the two sets of high-performance schools in the public and private sector. But if you look at the third and fourth row, either the third row or the fourth row, they both tell the same story. Let's take the fourth row which is teacher-student ratio, the ratio of teachers to students.

That ratio is 16 to one in the public schools. It's 18 to one in the Catholic schools. It's seven to one in the other private schools.

Among the high-performance schools it's 18 to one, and among the high-performance private schools it's eight to one.

So the student-teacher ratio in the other private schools differs very sharply from that in the Catholic schools or the public schools. The Catholic schools have even a slightly higher student-teacher ratio than do the public schools.

Now could I have No. 11, the next one, please?

TABLE 4.5.1

PERCENT OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS REPORTING THAT THE SCHOOL OR ITS STUDENTS PARTICIPATED IN SELECTED FEDERAL PROGRAMS: SPRING 1980

| Program | U.S. Total | Major Sectors | | | High-Performance Schools | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Public | Catholic | Other Private | Public | Private |
| Elementary & Secondary Education Act (ESEA): | | | | | | |
| Title I: Economic disadvantaged .. | 56 | 69 | 24 | 1 | 21 | 20 |
| IVB: Library ..... | 81 | 86 | 99 | 43 | 76 | 50 |
| IVC: Educational innovation .. | 31 | 38 | 22 | 0 | 42 | 20 |
| IVD: Supplementary centers ... | 22 | 23 | 31 | 12 | 17 | 0 |
| VII: Bilingual education ..... | 10 | 12 | 0 | 4 | 33 | 0 |
| IX: Ethnic heritage series .. | 7 | 8 | 13 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Vocational Education Act 63 (VEA): | | | | | | |
| Consumer and homemaking ..... | 60 | 77 | 8 | 1 | 69 | 0 |
| Basic program ..... | 53 | 67 | 5 | 1 | 20 | 0 |
| Persons with special needs .... | 38 | 48 | 5 | 1 | 80 | 0 |
| Cooperative education ..... | 45 | 55 | 14 | 6 | 91 | 0 |
| High school work study ..... | 44 | 55 | 6 | 6 | 94 | 0 |
| Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) ..... | 65 | 81 | 17 | 5 | 84 | 0 |
| Upward Bound ..... | 17 | 21 | 8 | 2 | 23 | 10 |
| Talent Search ..... | 13 | 16 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 20 |

[a]Participation is usually by school for ESEA and VEA programs; the remaining programs generally involve student-level participation at the secondary level.

The next table I would like to show shows, really shows sharply different participation in the Federal programs, Federally-funded programs. You know, it's possible in some cases only theoretically, depending on how the States administer some programs, but it's possible for Catholic and other private schools to participate in Federally-funded programs.

What this chart shows is two such programs: the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and Vocational Education Act. The second column shows the percentage of the public schools that participated in each of these. And the third and fourth columns show the percentages of Catholic and other private schools that participated in each of these.

Now, you see that except for the Library program in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act there is very low participation of the Catholic and other private schools. Now, the question about the source of that lack of participation has to remain open, because it's difficult to know the degree to which participation is facilitated or not facilitated in different localities and different States for the Catholic and non-Catholic private schools.

Now I'd like to turn to a couple of statistics that have to do with rules and enforcement of rules. First of all, could I have the next, please?

TABLE 5.3.1

PERCENT OF SOPHOMORES AND ADMINISTRATORS REPORTING THAT CERTAIN RULES ARE ENFORCED AT THEIR SCHOOL: SPRING 1980

| Item and Group | U.S. Total | Major Sectors | | | High-Performance Schools | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Public | Catholic | Other Private | Public | Private |
| Students responsible to school for property damage | | | | | | |
| Sophomores | 65 | 64 | 77 | 71 | 66 | 71 |
| Administrators | 97 | 96 | 95 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Rules about student dress | | | | | | |
| Sophomores | 46 | 42 | 97 | 69 | 14 | 93 |
| Administrators | 58 | 51 | 100 | 70 | 44 | 90 |

1 3 2

First of all, the general orientation, the general notion is that Catholic schools have much more strict rules and enforcement of rules than is true in public schools, and no one is quite sure about how the other private schools are in this respect, but they seem to be possibly more variable.

We asked both the administrators of the schools, the principals of the schools, and sophomores in the schools about whether certain rules were enforced. If you look at the last two rows, only the last two rows, those are rules about student dress.

There is very high agreement between the sophomores and the administrators -- the next to bottom row is the sophomores; the bottom row is administrators -- there is high agreement. But the very interesting thing is that almost universally the Catholic schools have rules about student dress; about two thirds to three quarters of the other private schools do; and only about half of the public schools.

So that other private schools are right between the Catholic schools, which universally have such rules, and the public schools which only about half the time do.

Now, we also asked a number of questions about discipline in the schools. We asked the question about how effective was discipline in the school, and how fair was discipline. Could I have the next chart, please?

TABLE 5.3.2

PERCENT OF SOPHOMORES AND SENIORS IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS RATING THEIR SCHOOLS' EFFECTIVENESS AND FAIRNESS OF DISCIPLINE AS "EXCELLENT" OR "GOOD": SPRING 1980

| Class | U.S. Total | Major Sectors | | | High-Performance Schools | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Public | Catholic | Other Private | Public | Private |
| **Effectiveness of discipline:** | | | | | | |
| Seniors | 44 | 42 | 72 | 58 | 52 | 79 |
| Sophomores | 44 | 41 | 76 | 65 | 40 | 79 |
| **Fairness of discipline:** | | | | | | |
| Seniors | 37 | 36 | 47 | 46 | 40 | 62 |
| Sophomores | 40 | 39 | 52 | 50 | 41 | 68 |

This chart shows responses in each of the three sectors if you look at the second, third and fourth columns in each of the three sectors to this question of how effective -- we asked that of both seniors and sophomores -- the question of how effective discipline was.

And to briefly summarize this, there is an increase of about 30--there is about 30 to 35 percent more students in Catholic schools say that the effectiveness of discipline is excellent or good, and that is true in the public schools, and about 15 to 25 percent more in the other private schools than in the public schools.

Well, I just got a note saying five minutes remains before 50 percent of the two speakers' time is consumed. But I'm going to not pay attention to that, and I'm going to ask Andy Greeley to not pay attention to that, because we have all day. That is you and us; we have all day. It's not going to take me much over that time. I looked at the clock when Victor Wenk finished, and he had consumed ten minutes more than the time allotted to him, or rather, it was ten minutes beyond the time when I started. So we'll go on a little bit beyond the five minutes, not much.

MR. WENK: Go ahead.

MR. COLEMAN: With respect to the fairness of

discipline, there is also a difference. The difference is not as great, but it is the case that both the difference between the Catholic and public schools and between the other private and public schools is about ten to 13 percent, depending on whether you look at the seniors or sophomores, greater percentage in the Catholic or other private schools saying that the fairness of discipline is excellent or good.

Now, one other bit of information with regard to how they look at the school, and that has to do with teacher interest. Could I have the next chart, please?

(The next chart appears on Page 45.)

We asked the question about, we asked them to rate their teachers' interest in students. We asked students to rate their teachers' interest, and we looked at how many rated their teachers' interest as excellent. You see in the second column only 12 percent of the students in public schools rated their teachers' interest as excellent, and nine percent of the sophomores did; 25 percent of the Catholic seniors and sophomores did; and 41 percent of the seniors in other private schools and 31 percent of the sophomores.

So there is a substantial difference between the students in Catholic schools and public schools and a greater difference between students in other private schools and public

TABLE 5.3.3

PERCENT OF SOPHOMORES AND SENIORS IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS RATING THEIR TEACHERS' INTEREST IN STUDENTS AS "EXCELLENT": SPRING 1980

| Class | U.S. Total | Major Sectors | | | High-Performance Schools | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Public | Catholic | Other Private | Public | Private |
| Seniors ..... | 14 | 12 | 25 | 41 | 15 | 64 |
| Sophomores ..... | 11 | 9 | 25 | 34 | 16 | 55 |

13-16

25-39

schools. The latter one could be accounted for, perhaps by the different student-teacher ratio, although we haven't examined that. But the student-teacher ratio in the Catholic and public schools is, as we saw before, about the same or slightly higher than the Catholic schools.

Now, one chart with regard to -- Well, I won't give this next chart. I'll just mention it. That is there is a difference between the amount of homework that is done in each of these three sectors. It's different. It's about an hour and a half more homework per week in the Catholic schools than the public. That is the public school students do about three and a half hours of homework a week, and the Catholic schools just about an hour and a half more than that. In the other private schools it's nearly two and a half hours more than that.

Now, finally, I would like to turn to achievement. Now this is really a very difficult question, because it's asking a causal question which we haven't asked before. First of all, before we ask the causal question, could I have chart 18 set forward?

(This chart appears on Page 47.)

What this shows, and there are a lot of numbers on here, but what it shows is Table 6.1.3 for those of you who have such things. Incidentally, would it help if I told you

TABLE 6.1.3

MEAN SCORES ON SUBTESTS THAT ARE IDENTICAL FOR SENIORS AND SOPHOMORES IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS: SPRING 1980

| Subtest | U.S. Total | | Major Sectors | | | | | | High Performance Schools | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Public | | Catholic | | Other Private | | Public | | Private | |
| | Grade | | Grade | | | | | | Grade | | | |
| | 10 | 12 | 10 | 12 | 10 | 12 | 10 | 12 | 10 | 12 | 10 | 12 |
| Means: | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Reading ..... (8)[a] .. | 3.7 | 4.5 | 3.6 | 4.5 | 4.3 | 5.0 | 4.3 | 5.3 | 4.9 | 5.8 | 6.1 | 6.7 |
| Vocabulary ..... (8) .. | 3.8 | 4.6 | 3.7 | 4.5 | 4.6 | 5.4 | 4.7 | 5.6 | 5.1 | 6.2 | 6.7 | 7.2 |
| Mathematics .....(18) .. | 9.6 | 10.8 | 9.4 | 10.6 | 11.0 | 12.1 | 11.3 | 12.7 | 12.5 | 13.8 | 15.1 | 16.4 |

[a]Numbers in parentheses refer to total number of items on subtests.

the table numbers in these things? Okay. Well, I'll tell you table numbers.

What this shows is the mean scores on subtests that are identical for seniors and sophomores in public and private schools. There were eight items that were identical in the reading test; eight items were identical in the vocabulary test; and 18 items were identical in the mathematics test.

What the second pair of columns shows is that in the public schools 3.6 of those items on average were gotten correctly in grade 10, and 4.5 items were answered correctly of the reading items in grade 12. In the Catholic schools it was 4.3 if you go to read over to the right, 4.3 at the tenth grade level, and 5.0 at the twelfth grade level. In the other private schools it was 4.3 at the tenth grade level and 5.3 at the twelfth grade level.

There are similar results in vocabulary and mathematics. And the results can be summarized by saying the sophomores in the Catholic schools are somewhat higher in achievement in each of these three areas than is true in the public schools. And there seems to be no difference in what could be thought of as the rate of gain between sophomores and seniors in the public and Catholic schools. And similarly with regard to the private schools, the private schools seem to be a little higher

in some scores than the Catholic schools, but not very much.

Now, the question that arises is how much of this is due to selection. This is not a simple question. It's a very difficult question, and the reason it is especially difficult here is because of the fact that selection, there is a selective process, that is parents who are interested in education, parents who have money, who have exhibited interest in education send their children to private schools. Not all parents do; most parents who do send their children to public schools. But some parents who do send their children to private schools. So there is an actual selection that does occur, and the question is: how can this selection be controlled for? Well, one of the standard ways of doing that is to introduce statistical controls, that is to control on various differences that you have measured in family background.

This has one defect, and that is there may be unmeasured differences in family background. So what we did was try to use two other measures, two other approaches as well. And one of those was to look at something about the sophomore-senior growth. And the second one was to ask the question that if there is a difference, that is if there is a remaining difference after the family-background differences have been taken account of, so that for example Catholic schcols or other

private schools still show higher achievement, once family background is controlled for. If there is such a difference, then if that difference is due to measured school differences, such as the difference in homework that we found or the difference in rules that exist or the difference in attendance. For example, there is considerably less absence from school in the Catholic schools than there is in the public schools, of considerably less cutting classes.

If the difference is due to these things, then it should be the case that within each sector we should find the same achievement difference. So we tried these three ways. I'm going to mention only the first two of these. Could I have No. 17, please. I'm sorry. No. 19.

First of all, we tried to introduce all possible statistical controls that we could. You may not be able to read these, but we introduced as statistical controls 17 difference items: family income, mother's education, father's education, race, Hispanic versus non-Hispanic, number of siblings, number of rooms in the home, question of whether both parents were present now, whether mother worked before the child was in elementary school and when the child was in elementary school.

And we introduced some things that may not be clearly

prior. They may be partly a consequence of attendance at a particular kind of school, but we treated them as if they were prior. The question of whether there is an encyclopedia in the home. That's on Page 12 for those of you who want it. The question of whether there are more than 50 books in the home, the question of whether there is a typewriter in the home, whether the child owns a pocket calculator, the frequency of talking with the mother or father about personal experiences.

And then two items which are really quite important: whether the mother thinks the child should go to college after high school in the child's eyes, in the student's eyes, and whether the father thinks the student should go to college after high school.

We introduced all of those things, and as I say, one can never be certain he's introduced all possible relevant statistical controls.

Could I have No. 20, please?

(No. 20 follows on the next page.)

And if you compare the second and third -- Well, first of all, this table I'm going to ask you to read a little bit more of. This is Table 6.2.1 for those who are looking. The expected level of achievement for students with the same background characteristics of all of these characteristics that

TABLE 6.2.1

ESTIMATED INCREMENTS TO TEST SCORES IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS WITH FAMILY BACKGROUND CONTROLLED: SPRING, 1980[a]

| | Reading | Vocabulary | Mathematics |
|---|---|---|---|
| Expected level | 3.60 | 3.69 | 9.40 |
| Increments (at sophomore level) for: | | | |
| Catholic schools | 0.31 | 0.36 | 0.57 |
| Other private schools | 0.14 | 0.33 | 0.54 |
| Senior increment in public schools | 0.71 | 0.63 | 0.87 |
| Raw increments (from Table 5.1.3) | | | |
| Increments (at sophomore level) for: | | | |
| Catholic schools | 0.7 | 0.9 | 1.6 |
| Other private schools | 0.7 | 1.1 | 1.9 |
| Senior increment in public schools | 0.9 | 0.8 | 1.2 |

[a]Family background refers to seventeen subjective and objective background characteristics which are listed, along with the relevant regression coefficients and sector means, in appendix A, tables A.5.1, A.5.2 and A.6.

* * *

I've mentioned with students who have background characteristics that are characteristic of the sophomore in public schools, their expected level of achievement in reading, vocabulary, mathematics is 3.6, 3.69 and 9.4. I will only do the vocabulary in discussing those. That's the middle column, because we can say the same thing roughly about the other two.

There is an increment from the sophomore to the senior year when we control on those family background things of .63 items. That is less than one item: .63 items. There is a difference at the sophomore level between the Catholic schools and the public schools when you control on all these background factors of .63 items which is about half the difference between the sophomores and the seniors, or about one grade level considered roughly.

This is a very similar difference between the achievment in other private schools and in the public schools of .33 which is the third number in the middle column, which is again about half the increment from sophomore to senior. So we can say again about one grade level.

Now, we can then in using the first method forget that there is in both of these sectors some remaining difference; that is it still is the case, according to this kind of analysis, that there is greater achievement that occurs for

comparable students in Catholic and other private schools than in the public schools.

We asked the question, however, can we look at something about the sophomore-to-senior growth and say something about this achievement. Can I have the next graph, please?

TABLE 6.2.2

ESTIMATED SOPHOMORE-TO-SENIOR ACHIEVEMENT GROWTH IN CATHOLIC AND OTHER PRIVATE SCHOOLS BEYOND THAT IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS FOR STUDENT WITH AVERAGE BACKGROUND[a]: SPRING 1980

| | Reading | Vocabulary | Mathematics |
|---|---|---|---|
| Catholic ..... | -0.08 | 0.18 | -0.01 |
| Other private ..... | 0.27 | 0.18 | 0.15 |

[a]Estimates are obtained from separate regressions for sophomores and seniors in each sector, obtaining predicted achievement in each sector and grade standardized to mean public school sophomore background characteristics for 17 objective and subjective characteristics. "Extra growth" is obtained by comparing these standardized achievements between grades and then across sectors. Regression coefficients are given in tables A.5.1 and A.5.2 in appendix A.

* * *

When we look at the sophomore-to-senior growth controlling for students with average background, again controlling on this background, we find when we look at the raw growth and we forget about anything having to do with dropouts that there is still a remaining difference between the other private schools and the public sector, but not a consistent difference.

That is a little bit positive, a little big negative, depending on which test you look at in the Catholic schools.

However, there is a problem with this, and that is that the dropout rate in the public schools from the sophomore- to senior year is, according to our estimates, about twice as high as that in the Catholic or other private schools which biases these results, and that leads -- In other words, we estimate about 24 percent dropout in the public schools, about 12 percent in the Catholic schools and about 13 percent in the other private schools.

Now, if we assume that the dropouts come from the lower half of the distribution of achievement, and they're equally distributed across this lower half, what this means is that the effective gain of those that remained in the schools is less than what it appears to be. It's lower in all sectors, but especially it's lower in the public sector.

So now we come to the final chart, and that is Table 6.2.5. (Which appears on Page 56.)

At the top where you have all those numbers, they show what would be the expected, the estimated gain in achievement when you contol in the way that we did on dropouts. The lower numbers show the estimated learning rates using an equation for learning rate, the estimated learning rates in

TABLE 6.2.5

ESTIMATED SOPHOMORE-SENIOR GAINS IN TEST SCORES AND LEARNING RATES, WITH CORRECTIONS FOR DROPOUTS MISSING FROM SENIOR DISTRIBUTION

| Item | Public | | | Catholic | | | Other Private | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 10 | 12 | Est. Gain | 10 | 12 | Est. Gain | 10 | 12 | Est. Gain |
| a) Estimated gains[a] | | | | | | | | | |
| Reading | 3.57 | 4.05 | 0.47 | 4.33 | 4.81 | 0.47 | 4.30 | 5.11 | 0.81 |
| Vocabulary | 3.68 | 4.09 | 0.41 | 4.58 | 5.19 | 0.61 | 4.73 | 5.35 | 0.62 |
| Mathematics | 9.39 | 9.77 | 0.38 | 11.04 | 11.73 | 0.68 | 11.28 | 12.26 | 0.98 |
| b) Estimated learning rate[b] | | | | | | | | | |
| Reading | | .06 | | | .07 | | | .12 | |
| Vocabulary | | -.05 | | | .10 | | | .10 | |
| Mathematics | | .02 | | | .05 | | | .08 | |

[a]Numbers are rounded to two decimals independently so that some rounded "estimated gains" differ from the difference between rounded sophomore and senior scores.

[b]Learning rate refers to estimated proportion of items learned in a given year from those items not known.

* * *

reading, vocabulary and mathematics in the public, Catholic and other private schools. It shows that in reading the estimated learning rate in the Catholic schools is almost the same as that in the public schools. It's about twice as high in the other private schools.

But in vocabulary it's twice as high in the Catholic and other private schools, as it is in public schools, and is

considerably higher in the Catholic and other private schools than in the public schools in mathematics, more than twice as high, the difference between .02 in the public schools and .05 in the Catholic and .08 in the other private.

I won't go into the third method because of lack of time. I'm not completely oblivious, Victor, to the time, although I apologize for taking up extra time. I won't go into the other method. Possibly that can be discussed in the general discussion. And I won't discuss the overall implications of the report.

In general I think I would say that in terms of anything that we can see with regard to the functioning of the -- I'm discussing just the last part of the analysis now -- in terms of the functioning of the Catholic, other private and public schools, that whether it's due to conditional constraints that exist on the public schools, or whether it's due to something else, it seems to be the case that the functioning of the Catholic and other private schools is such to lead to higher achievement for comparable students than is true in the public schools.

And the third method that I didn't show suggests that some considerable part of this has to do with matters having to do with discipline and student behavior in the schools,

including things like levels of homework. Thank you very much.

MR. WENK: Thank you. Since we started about ten minutes late, I think we can slip things forward just a little bit. However, I think we only have this room till 5:00 o'clock. We want everybody to have an opportunity to voice their views. Dr. Greeley, would you like to take the podium, please?

MR. GREELEY: My subject is the impact of Catholic secondary schools on minority students, and minority herein is defined as black and Hispanic students.

The project was funded by the Ford and Spencer, the analysis was funded by the Ford and Spencer Foundations which I hasten to dispense from any responsibility for the findings; particularly publicly I grant the indulgence of Tom James this morning.

I hope maybe you all have a set of tables which have been distributed. I have set up, I made such tables. Anybody who doesn't have them, raise their hands and -- Okay. Some people back there.

Unfortunately, when one speaks of Catholic and public schools, one compares, and comparisons are odious. I am reminded this morning of one of the rabbi-priest stories my friend Sidney Berva has taught me.

By the way, in the rabbi-priest stories the rabbi

always wins, which says something about which ethnic group starts the stories.

In this particular case a rabbi and priest were touring the west of Ireland and they have become very good friends. They'd eat lunch together. They'd taken a bit of the drink and a bit more of the drink, and they were feeling very warm indeed.

Finally, the priest said to the rabbi, "Well, now, Rabbi, it's perfectly clear to me that you're a very pious and devout man, what with all them terrible dietary things you have to observe. And I've got to say I couldn't do it and my hat's off in admiration for your virtue."

Now, he says, "But tell me now, man to man, you don't keep all those rules, do you? I mean, for example, surely you've had some ham at least once in your life."

"Well," says the rabbi -- "I know, seal the confession. I won't tell a soul. I won't tell anybody." "Now, father I must confess, once in my life when I was a student in college I ate a ham sandwich."

And the priest says, "Well, sure it's brave of you to admit it, and it's no more than a venial sin, I'm sure."

But the rabbi says, "Now, father, fair is fair. Tell me, have you ever been to bed with a woman?" Well, now,

said the priest, "That's a terrible personal question to ask. You're not going to tell any bishop, are you?"

"Seal the confession," says the rabbi. Well, says the priest, "Fair is fair. I've got to admit it; once when I was in college just out of curiosity, I went to bed with a woman."

"Mm," says, the rabbi, "beats ham, doesn't it?"

I should very much like to be able this morning to continue that playful tone, but unfortunately I can not. I find myself in an extremely awkward position. I offered to appear at this symposium as a gesture of good will. The sponsoring agencies had distributed to some participants a memo designed to discredit my presentation before I make it, a memo which implicitly questions my integrity and competence as a scholar, a memo which I find has been leaked to the press.

Instead, then, of being here to present my findings as a favor to the sponsors, though I did not work under contract with them, I find I am now the target of charges of incompetence and perhaps dishonesty. I'm in the docket, and I must defend myself.

It's kind of like in my other profession being invited to preach in another parish and arrive on Sunday to find the pastor has written to many of the congregants a few

days before telling them I am likely to be a biased and inept preacher. Moreover, he has leaked this letter to the local newspaper. You kind of wonder under those circumstances what influential parishioners have complained.

I will have no choice but to respond to the principal NCES undercutting attempt in the course of my presentation. I will not burden you with replying to all the details of their complaint.

Dealing with NCES is a slippery business. I was told I have 45 minutes. No one has ever told me differently. I had timed my original presentation 45 minutes to the second; I now also must defend myself. I have cut six or seven pages by listening to Jim talk. I still presumably will go over time. I will not apologize for doing so. NCES has defamed me, and I propose to defend myself, nor will I be removed from this platform until I am finished, Mr. Moderator, save by physical force.

It is also embarrassing to have to begin this statement, beginning this presentation with a statement about where I stand. However, given the subject matter, the audience and the person of the presenter, I think I should outline clearly who and what I am. As my defiant Bridget cross probably indicates, I am a Catholic priest, and as far as I know, in good standing,

although not in good repute in the institutional Church. The Church does not fund my research. It has not paid my salary for almost 20 years. It denounces my findings with the inappropriate observation that moral judgments are not made by taking public opinion polls. You will look in vain for any members of the hierarchy here today.

The typical Catholic newspaper headline about the project will announce Bishops deny Catholic schools teach birth control. Many of the hierarch would very much like to get out of the business of providing education for the inner city poor.

As Cardinal Cody of Chicago in a characteristic burst of Christian charity remarks, "I have no obligation to educate protestants."

To the extent that my report suggests that Catholic schools might possibly be deemed a good work among the minorities, the hierarchs will be even more upset with me than they usually are.

It's also worth noting that I have been long since removed from the mailing list of my own archdiocese. It's a new post-Vatican Council Catholic liturgical act; it's called the solemn high breaking of the addressograph plate. A bishop and two chaplains attired in purple cloaks and bearing a chalice of holy water place the addressograph plate on the table

surrounded by four liturgical candles and then break it into three pieces, throwing them into three separate waste baskets.

When my novel, "The Cardinal Sins," Literary Guild selection for June, appears next month, they will probably break the addressograph machine over my cat, if possible.

My interest in this project is therefore on my own and not that of the Catholic Church or the Catholic education. Should anyone suggest that because I'm a Catholic priest I am incapable of objectivity on the subject of Catholic schools, I would invite that person to step out in the back somewhere and fight with Professor Coleman, a much stronger and tougher person than I am.

I would remind you, though, that the principal reason I am in difficulty with the hierarchy is that I found that the overwhelming majority of Catholics rejects the Church's birth control issue. If I report that one honestly, you can depend on it, I think -- depend on anything the priest says -- that if I found that Catholic schools did not have any effect on the education of minority students, I would report that too.

With that distasteful preliminary out of the way, I propose to limit myself to sharing with you some of the tables from the report and commenting on the tables. The report is still in draft form. I'm sure the basic shape of the findings

will not be altered, but I hope to incorporate into the draft whatever I learn at the conference today.

First Table 1.1 presents the basic problem, my investigative report. The higher scores of minority students who attend Catholic schools in academic achievement, a higher rating by the students of school discipline, the greater college aspirations of the Catholic high school students and the greater level of homework performed by these students.

The Z score which I will use throughout is nothing more than a percentage of the standard deviation. Note that approximately half a standard deviation separates Catholic school and public school minority students in academic achievement. Approximately a full standard deviation separates them in the school discipline rating. Catholic school students are twice as likely to say they do more than five hours of homework each week, and approximately 30 percentage points more likely if they're a minority student to say that they expect to graduate from college.

These four findings constitute not the end of the research, but the beginning. They are the problem to be resolved. I choose in this report to follow the conservative approach in assuming, until evidence to the contrary emerges, that the phenomena represented in the first table are a function

of family input: social class, academic environment, scholarly motivation, family life, and the personal characteristics of the students which might motivate them to do better in school. Only after these explainations are considered would I entertain the possibility that in addition to a parental input explanation, there might also be a school effect explanation.

You can not by its very nature say with absolute confidence that family input or family choice explanation is not correct. Of course, nowhere in social science can you ever say with absolute confidence that other explanations are not possible.

The most such an explanation could possibly do is to tilt the observer in the direction of considering seriously the possibility that there may also be a school effect outcome. That is all I will do at the very most is say that the possibility ought to be considered seriously.

Thus, there are two possible explanations for the phenomena on the first table, family input and school effect. We can definitely exclude the school effect outcome if the explanatory model I have presented in Table 1.2 eliminates the differences between Catholic and public school minority students by the time we arrive at the third category on the Table. If, however, the first two panels do not completely eliminate

the difference between Catholic and public school minority students, and the variables in the final panel do contribute to the further explanation, even elimination, of the difference then there is somewhat of an increase in the probability of a school effect on academic outcome.

Such a result would not establish it with absolute certainty, as there may still be family background characteristics or family choice characteristics that we have not taken into account.

I will pass over my commentaries on the Tables, the numbers of which is 3 and 4, in the interest of saving time. You can examine the Tables, ponder them, meditate them, burn them, do whatever you want.

I will state on the basis of 3.11 and 4.14, which are the critical ones, that there are some reasons in both Tables to think that there are other factors at work in the Catholic school environment besides the parental-student input. Surely the evidence is not strong enough to enable us to say conclusively that there is a school effect, that the tilting in that direction be given.

Tables No. 5 represent a brief excursion into the question of what religious effects of Catholic education are. Note that Catholic schools do enhance the church attendance of

the whites who attend them, but they seem to have little effect on other religious or ethical or political issues. Indeed, those who attend Catholic schools are marginally more likely to report that they have obtained birth control information from those schools -- and they're going to love that over on Mass. Avenue -- than those who attend public schools, findings which will doubtless upset the hierarchs and the Holy See no little bit.

It is an interesting point to keep in mind, however, for those who think of Catholicism as a massive monolith. The Pope and the Roman Curiae may say and do whatever they want, but when it comes to the classroom instruction of adolescents, teachers, doubtless backed up by principals and local clergy, still do prepare the students as much as the teachers in public schools for the problems of sexual maturation.

The Tables with the first number 6, I addressed myself to the three critical academic outcome issues of academic performance as measured by the standardized achievement tests prepared by ETS, and here I have provided a reading and math test, hours of homework and parent college plans.

You compare 6.1 to 1.2, you will notice that a number of variables have been dropped. They were eliminated from the model either because they are statistically insignificant to

begin with, or because they make no appreciable impact on the model when prior variables have been taken into account. Since the data are available to everybody, you can look them over and see whether I'm telling the truth.

One might observe that in Table 6.1 the correlations are all fairly strong, so that there is some reasonable antecedent probability that the differences in academic performance and homework and current college plans can be accounted for by the background variables, without having to consider religious order ownership, while the quality of instruction is rated by students or disciplinary environment is described by students.

Discipline and instruction variables are measured on the basis of student ratings. They are not objective measures, whatever those may be, of what goes on in the schools.

I threw in the religious order variable because I kind of thought that religious orders might make a difference. It turns out they certainly do. I'm not a member of a religious order. I'm not, despite charges to the contrary you might have heard, I'm not, nor have I ever been, nor do I contemplate ever being a Jesuit. Some of my best friends are Jesuits. Wouldn't want my sister to marry a Jesuit, any more than I'd want her to marry a bishop. Her husband wouldn't either, I guess.

About 21 percentage points difference exists in the proportion doing more than five hours of homework a week between public school minority young people and Catholic school minority young people. One third of these percentage points can be accounted for by input variables, so the difference is diminished to 14 points.

However, one must take into account religious order administration and the quality of instruction to reduce the difference to statistical insignificance. One must say of homework, just as one -- I haven't said, but would have said of the ratings of discipline and quality instruction that the differences between Catholic and public school minority young people can not be accounted for entirely by the background variables available to us at present.

Note in the text the addition of two school characteristics, religious order ownership and quality of instruction to reduce the differences to statistical insignificance. Here again we must recognize the probability of some school effect. We must therefore tilt somewhat more towards the possibility of their actually having been a school contribution.

However, when it comes to the question of confidence in college graduation, one can account for the 29 percentage point differences in confidence between public and Catholic

school minority students by the background variables in the model, most noticeably by taking into account parental college aspirations for the students and students' own aspirations for college in eighth grade. Thus one can say with reasonable confidence that there is no school effect, as such, on confidence of college graduation for minority students or for white students either.

This is a fact worth keeping in mind, because it demonstrates that there are occasions in which the input explanation is sufficient, and one need not be, one can not, at least following the conservative strategy I'm following here, appeal to the possibility of a school effect. The model is not a paper tiger.

Table 6.4 deals with perhaps the most interesting issue in the analysis, the question of academic achievement as measured by the standardized tests. Note, first of all, that for white Catholic schools the family input explanation serves to eliminate much of the difference between public school and Catholic school students. We'll see more about that later.

However, for blacks, Hispanics and for those minorities of blacks and Hispanics put together who are in the lower third of the family income bracket, approximately two fifths of the difference between Catholic and public school students

remains unaccounted for by the time all the background variables are taken into account. Each case the differences are reduced to statistical significance by simply adding to the model the quality-of-instruction variables, the quality of instruction, that is to say, as rated by students.

Because it is often argued that Catholic schools do especially well with minorities because they selectively recruit from more affluent minority group families, the minority poor we looked at was the lowest third of the family income bracket.

One official at Carnegie Corporation put it to me a number of years ago when I suggested a study of why blacks were choosing Catholic schools; he said, "I'm not going to spend money finding out why Catholic schools are successful in educating rich blacks."

Such prejudgments, quite independent of the data, are the equivalent of prejudice. One can hardly say that exactly to the charge of having prejudged what goes on in Catholic secondary schools.

One gets the same effect in the final row on Table 6.4 by inserting either discipline or religious order ownership. If one put all three variables in, the results would have been negative numbers. Rather than engage in that kind of confusion

I constructed a path analytic diagram in Table 6.5 which assumes that religious order ownership affects the quality of instruction and the quality of discipline, that these affect one another and they both affect academic performance. Table 6.5 tells us that religious order ownership has an effect of its own, independent of that which it also exercised for the quality of instruction and discipline.

Of these three variables, instruction is twice as important as measured by the correlation coefficient as either discipline or religious order ownership in its direct impact. The impact, in other words the quality of instruction on academic performance in the Catholic secondary schools in that Table, is net of disciplinary environment in these schools, in these schools.

The quality of instruction seems to me to require much further investigation. I have designed a question which may or may not be included in the next phase, if there is a next phase, if Office of Management and Budget permits, which may enable us to focus in more precisely on what students think is good teaching.

I do not want to exclude the possibility, again, that background variables we have not been able to take into account may be responsible for the apparent relationship between

instruction, discipline and religious ownership, on the one hand, and academic achievement on the other.

One continues to tilt to the possibility of the school effect without conclusively asserting such an effect. At this point it becomes necessary to inquire whether any aspects of school structure which might be independent of school choice, and which is variable, might lead to a variation of a difference between public and Catholic school minority groups.

School size, it seems to me, might be one such structural variable that is probably not involved in parental choice and which may, if varied, create a difference between public and Catholic schools. My incorrect thought was that since Catholic schools tend to be smaller on the average than public schools, the superior academic outcome of Catholic schools might be a function of smaller school size and perhaps more personal attention.

It's possible, of course, that parents would seek a smaller school because of the desire for personal attention, but in all likelihood parents would choose the school nearest to where they live.

The fact, however, as you will note in 6.7, is exactly the opposite seems to be the case. It is the large Catholic schools which differ most strikingly, the large public schools



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in their effects on minority students. The differences here go up to more than three fifths of a standard deviation in academic achievement. Since it is, I think, unlikely, but not impossible of course, that the parents would choose a larger school for their children--the child would choose the school for himself, herself--this variation in the structure of the school is not likely to be the object of parental choice. The fact that such a variation also leads to a variance in the difference between Catholic and public schools would lead one to suspect that there is a strong possibility of a school effect over and above the parochial school choice.

This possibility is enhanced somewhat by noting in Table 6.8 that the background segment of the model only reduces the difference to approximately two thirds of a standard-- No. Two thirds strikes me as being high. I probably mean here two fifths of a standard deviation between Catholic and public school minority students. Two fifths is right.

Thirty-eight points remain to be accounted for by school variables of order ownership, discipline and instruction. Only if parental choice of a large school in preference to a small school is indeed a conscious or explicit fact in the decision to send the children to a Catholic school, would one be able to inhibit a further tilt in the direction of a school



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effect on the basis of 6.8.

Graph No. 6.9 shows in the schools of over 500 size the relative importance of instruction, discipline and religious order ownership is virtually the same as it is in all schools in the sample.

My colleague at Arizona, Dudley Duncan, whom some of you have heard, pointed out to me that one should consider whether Catholic schools have greater impact in comparison to public schools on black non-Catholics than they do on black Catholics. Dudley noted that there was a good deal more involved in the parental choice of parochial schools and the young person's choice if it involves not only a private school, but a private school affiliated with a religious denomination that was other than one's own. It takes a little more emotional commitment to choose a Catholic school if you are a black Baptist than if you are a black Catholic.

By the way, half the blacks in Catholic schools in the sample are non-Catholics. To choose a private school, particularly for those who are not affluent, requires that one exercise an option that most members of one's community do not exercise. To choose not only a private school but one of another religious denomination involves yet a second option, a second hurdle, a second choice, which even more members of one's



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denominational community do not select. Because there is thus more family decisionmaking, again following Dudley's argument of emotion, an investment for the non-Catholic blacks, the impact on that, if what happens in Catholic schools is indeed family choice and not school impact, ought to be much higher than the impact on black Catholics. You need not invest quite so much family emotional energy in the decision to attend the Catholic schools.

Table 6.10 shows that there is little confirmation for the possibility for Dudley Duncan's suggestion. Black non-Catholics do marginally better in Catholic schools than in public schools in comparison with black Catholics. But even when one takes into account the differential in social class background, the margin is not increased. Thus one more possibility to support a total family choice explanation is not sustained, and the tilt in the direction of a school effect is enhanced.

One reader of an early draft of the report suggested that the models I have used may well have been misspecified. How right he was. It is likely, he suggested, there is a much more powerful correlation between social class and achievement in Catholic schools than in public schools. It would seem to suggest that it would be precisely the most affluent black and



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Hispanic families who, having chosen a Catholic school for their children, would create an environment at home that would reinforce the work of the school. Therefore, the model that is presented thus far would not deal adequately with the possibility of a total family input explanation unless you consider the interaction between social class and Catholic schools and the impact of such interaction on achievement.

In technical terms, which need not disturb those of you who do not understand the multiple regression analysis, it was necessary, said the critic, to include an interactional term in the regression equation.

Now we get into very interesting materials. As one can see in Table 7, exactly the opposite is the case. The correlation between social class and academic achievement is higher in public schools, indeed twice as high in public schools than it is in Catholic schools. It might be misspecified, indeed, but it's misspecified against the Catholic school effect, instead of in favor.

When interaction terms are introduced for father's education, mother's education and income, the difference between Catholic and public school outcomes for minority students increases rather than decreases. It goes up to almost a whole standard deviation.



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Table 7.1 is more interesting, I'm sure you educational researchers will realize, for another reason. The correlation between social class and academic achievement for minority students in Catholic schools seems to be remarkably low. Most educational research indicates that social class background of students is a very powerful predicter of academic achievement. It seems much less powerful, however, for minority students in Catholic schools.

Table 7.2 shows the same things with scores rather than correlation coefficients. The principal difference between Catholic and public school minority young people is concentrated among those whose parents did not go to college. Catholic schools are only marginally more successful with college-graduate parents than the public schools. It is the less affluent rather than the more affluent who seem especially likely to benefit from attending Catholic schools, just the opposite of what my friend from the Carnegie Corporation thought.

Moreover, in Table 7.4 and 7.5, especially among those minority-group people who may be considered upwardly mobile, and if their father did not attend college, but they expect to graduate from college, that the school-difference phenomena seems to be the most striking. More than 90 percent



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of the difference in academic achievement in Catholic and public, among that group, can not be accounted for by input variables, but rather has to be attributed to the three school variables: order ownership, discipline and instruction. This phenomena runs counter to what many Catholic school administrators and teachers themselves believe.

Catholic schools, it was thought quite accurately, disproportionately recruit or admit students from upwardly mobile minority families. It was precisely because they have these ambitious young people that the Catholic schools seem to achieve such striking success.

But the argument went if you compared the upwardly mobiles in the Catholic schools with the upwardly mobiles in the public schools, you would find little difference. Public school achievement scores are dragged down by the large proportion of non-upwardly mobile who do not do as well as the much smaller proportion of upwardly mobile groups.

The evidence seems to indicate that exactly the opposite case is the case. The biggest difference of all between Catholic and public schools is precisely in that group where there is supposed to be no difference, that group which was motivated towards upward mobility. If there is a Catholic school effect, then, all one can say at the present state of



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analysis is that there now seems to be some reason to investigate further the possibility of such effect. It seems that for minority young people the effect is concentrated on those who have come from less affluent family backgrounds.

Moreover, the same thing seems to be the case for white students in the Catholic schools from less affluent family backgrounds as we will notice in Table 7.6 and 7.7.

Catholic schools, it would appear then, are simply rather good at educating the children of less affluent, and the apparent racial effects in the study are, in fact, more likely to be social-class effect, or to be even more precise, to establish an ethnic effect.

Catholic secondary schools were established in this country between 1910 and 1965 for the most part to facilitate the upward mobility of ethnic immigrants, while at the same time protecting their religious faith. It would turn out that they were quite successful in their task, continue to do it, even though now they have more than half the students in Catholic secondary schools who are white are the children of college-educated parents.

The way to college may well be prepared by their attending Catholic schools. The only thing that has changed in Catholic schools in recent years then, is that there is a



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different mix of ethnic groups that are benefiting from the peculiar social milieu which produced the Catholic schools in the first place, a milieu which required a heavy kind of emphasis on the academic achievement that was necesary for economic upward mobility.

Why are the Catholic schools apparently so good at educating the black and Hispanic poor? Because they came into existence to educate Irish, Polish, German, Italian, Lithuanian Slovak, Slovene, or et cetera, et cetera, et cetera, of course. Mind you, they don't know they're doing that. They're no more conscious that they're doing that than the man in the French play was conscious he was speaking prose.

If this is the case, then one would expect the Catholic schools to eliminate social class background differences gradually. That is to say the correlation between social class and achievement would be higher among the sophomores than among the seniors. Tables 7.10 and 7.10A demonstrate that this is indeed the fact. Both for whites and nonwhites the correlation between social class and achievement in Catholic schools diminishes between the sophomore and senior years, but it does not diminish in the public schools.

In other words, there is not that much difference in the correlation between social class and achievement in



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Catholic schools than in public schools in the sophomore year whereas the correlation is marginally smaller in Catholic schools. However, by the senior year the differences are substantial, correlations in public schools being three times as large as those in Catholic schools, precisely because the correlation coefficient between social class and achievement do not decline in the public schools in the sophomore and the senior year and do decline drastically in the Catholic schools.

Dr. Coleman has pointed out this can not be accounted for by the dropout rate because that is twice as high among the sophomore -- between sophomore and senior years in public schools than it is in Catholic schools.

So, indeed, by the time the minority student, and as to the senior in a Catholic school, chances are statistically insignificant that social-class background as measured by father's education -- as measured by mother's education and income too, if you want -- have any effect on academic achievement scores.

Catholic schools seem to have the ability, in other words, to pass out the rewards of achievement in standardized tests without regard to the social-class origins of parents. They do this in all schools for all students, perhaps somewhat more powerfully for minority students.

There are common schools in the United States; they may well be Catholic.

One can not, of course, exclude absolutely that there are family-background variables that we have not taken into account which may eliminate completely the apparent Catholic-school effects that have been described.

Surely, however, the burden will now be on those who insist that the outcomes are family choice to suggest family-choice variables that would be appropriately included in further research, in the unlikely event that such research should occur.

Another possibility which ought to be considered seriously is that the structural difference of educational track may account for the difference between minority performance in Catholic schools. Catholic schools may well be more college preparatory in their orientation. They also may be more likely to place their minority students in academic, that is to say in college preparatory courses. Thus, if one holds the phenomenon of educational tracks constant, the difference between the two kinds of schools may diminish, precisely because of the concentration of minorities in Catholic schools in college preparatory tracks.

The anonymous man said in "The Washington Post" the other day, "They get kids with higher scores." The Tables No.



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8 address themselves to this issue. In fact, Catholic schools are twice as likely to place minority students in academic tracks than are public schools, whether by school decision or parental decision or student decision. Interesting, but irrelevant to the present line of argumentation. Almost two thirds of the students in Catholic schools, whatever their quasi-racial background, are in academic programs.

However, the track system does not explain the apparent difference between the educational effect of the two systems, but rather specifies it, just as social background did.

There are, if you look at Table 8.2, indeed only relatively small differences in performances between Catholic and public school minority young people and academic programs, 13 standardized points, but a relatively large difference, 34 standardized points, between the two school populations in the general program.

Comparing the figures in the first and second columns, the first column with the second, note the paradox. Catholic schools disproportionately attract young people from college-educated families, and young people who are gifted enough to be placed in academic programs. But in all three racial groups they have their most powerful impact on those from less educated



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families than those who are not academically gifted enough to make it into higher tracks. They seem to have found the secret of success, not only in working with the economically disadvantaged, but with the intellectually or at least the educationally disadvantaged. No small feat.

I am grateful to my graduate student Thomas Hoffman of Arizona for suggesting this line of analysis. Note, too, that the gap between the tracks is 43 points in Catholic schools and 64 points in public schools. There is, in other words, a lower correlation between tracking achievement in Catholic schools than there is in public schools.

If the higher performance of the Catholic-school general-track minority students is, in fact, a school effect, one would expect the difference between Catholic and public school minority students in that track to increase between the sophomore and senior years. The Catholic-school minority young people in the general track would increase their advantage over their public-school counterparts by the time they reached the senior year.

Observe that there is a built-in factor which might work against such a change: the higher dropout rates in the public schools. However, both the general and other Catholic-school minority students -- Table 8.3 -- benefit to a greater



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improvement in their API between sophomore and senior years than do their public-school opposite numbers, a positive change of 19 and 44 points for the Catholic-schools groups as opposed to 5 points and 31 points for the two public-school groups.

To look at the same matter from a different angle, in Table 8.4, the difference between public and Catholic school minority students in the general program increases from 29 points when they are sophomores to 43 points when they are seniors. The difference between those in other programs increases from 13 to 26 points, this despite the presumably greater attrition rate of low performers in these groups in public than in Catholic schools.

However, moreover now, the apparent effect of Catholic schools on the young people who come from less educated families than from the general track is a combined effect to be seen in Table 8.5. For both white and minority students the bigger differences between Catholic and public school students in the general track are concentrated in those general-track students from families whose parents did not go to college, 26 points for the minority children and 24 points for white children.

The payoff in Catholic schools would appear not to



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be for the children of well-educated families who are in the academic track, but for the children of poorly-educated families in the general track, the twice-disadvantaged as one might call them.

Consider this carefully. Our expectation would have been that since the Catholic schools disproportionately enroll academic track children and children from affluent families that much of the Catholic-school effect and the apparent payoff of Catholic schools would be among the twice-advantaged. The finding here reported seems to be just the opposite. The Catholic schools seems to benefit especially the twice-disadvantaged. The twice-disadvantaged do -- Well, skip that sentence. Obviously a mistake.

The technical name for the phenomenon here is interaction. Lower correlations for Catholic school students between social class and achievement and between ability as represented by track and achievement.

The great flaw in the NCES's attempt to undercut this presentation is that it did not take into account these interaction effects.

B (?) is quite right in his response to their critique, which oddly enough did not seem to get leaked to the press, that tracking is a school-effect variable and does not



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belong in the analytic model. What I'm willing to concede to the NCES hatchet men is that tracking might give good measure of ability, though they didn't suggest that, and put it in an analytic model.

However, since I have demonstrated that there is interaction for both tracking and father's education, I insist these interaction terms also be included.

Table 8.6 shows what happens when the tracking variables, which is the heart of the NCES attempt to discredit me, are included, together with interaction terms, as well as father's education with the interaction terms.

The interaction term for education causes the raw differences of 49 and 32 standardized points respectively to rise to about 60 standardized points.

Then the tracking variable leads to a sharp decline, as NCES says. However, when the tracking interaction variable is entered, the difference for minority students between Catholic and public schools goes back virtually to the raw difference, while the one for Catholics, for whites is above the raw differences.

The variable which NCES uses to destroy the apparent differences I report, when used properly, in fact, enhances the difference. To put the matter in English, the track and



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educational background of the school population are equalized. When the same relationships between track and background, on the one hand, and achievement on the other in the Catholic schools are maintained, the differences are not eliminated by NCES, but utterly unchanged, indeed somewhat increased.

Using interaction terms, gentlepersons, is not just an option which some sociologists might choose. It's a methodological necessity if there is any reason to suspect that there might be an interaction. In not considering the possibility NCES's hired guns demonstrate that they were not confident. Having tried for a dozen pages to destroy me, they plead pressure as an excuse for not exercising greater care.

However, the problem, I submit, is more than incompetence. The fact of an interaction with father's education was reported in the text which they had available to them, and they ignored it.

In light of that interaction one might also have expected the possibility of an interaction with academic track. That was ignored too. There is more than ignorance and incompetence in the work when you ignore interaction as reported in the text. The NCES model is misspecified because of the absence of interaction terms, not, I submit, for reasons of shoddy work, but for reasons of malice. They knew that an interaction was

important and they tried to get away with excluding it because they wished to discredit in advance this presentation.

A responsible treatment of interaction terms would have interfered with this scheme. They know full well in the discussions of such things as misspecification, interaction terms is over the heads of most readers and most listeners.

To put the matter in words that everyone can understand, should there be any obscurity about it, the NCES perpetrated a cover-up, a deliberate attempt to cover up the fact that Catholic schools, contrary to expectations, do not especially benefit upper stratum and academic track young people. Rather they benefit lower stratum, general track young people, the twice-disadvantaged.

I would hope that the appropriate parties in the Department of Education would ask some hard questions about this cover up, though I don't expect they will.

Despite the fact that any social scientist can see through it, it will probably be effective because it tells most educators what they want to hear, perhaps lots of people in this audience want to hear.

Another way to demonstrate this cover-up is to examine the NCES analysis as presented on Page 20, Table 3.3, with an analysis in which the interaction terms have been included,



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the last of the Tables labeled 8, or no, it's either the last of the Tables labeled 8 or maybe it's a special Table.

This contains the NCES analysis in the first and third columns and my analysis in the second and fourth columns. In my analysis the two interaction terms, Catholic by father's education and Catholic by academic track have been included.

The whole story is in the bottom row. For sophomores the correlation coefficient with Catholic and academic performance is .00 in the NCES analysis, .09 in my analysis. And for seniors it is minus .01 in their analysis and .23 in my analysis.

The bottom row of the analysis shows that there is not only a Catholic-school effect when the interaction terms are entered, as they must be for the analysis to be correct and honest, but also the Catholic-school effect increases notably in the sophomore to senior years. I hold no special brief for the style of the NCES analysis which I find both aesthetically and intellectually unsatisfying. I merely assert that when done properly, even their own analysis supports instead of refutes this presentation.

One last point. Note in Table 8.7 that the advantage of attending Catholic school -- for Catholic school students from noncollege families on the general track increases from the sophomore to the senior year from 20 to 30 points,



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suggesting they do in fact improve their relative academic performance because of the school they are attending, and thus helping us once more in the direction of a school effect.

I have to ask of everyone concerned, is there something wrong with Catholic schools? Why the desperate fear of this finding? Or is it merely there is something wrong with Catholics?

I now turn briefly to policy issues. Well, I'm sorry, Marie, I'm going to finish.

Since my project was not funded by NCES, but rather by private foundations, I was not under the constraints that Jim Coleman was under to produce policy recommendations, and there are no such recommendations in my report.

But they were able to redraw their own policy. Yet, lest I be accused of being afraid, walking away from policy recommendations, let me make a few comments.

At the most general level of the policy question let me recall what the principal finding of this project is not One would have expected, I would have expected that the primary payoff for Catholic schools would be found among minority young people with better educated family backgrounds and better academic skills. This is, however, not the burden of the report. If there is a Catholic school effect at all, it's the



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opposite. The principal payoff is for those young people from minority families and lower education backgrounds and with less developed academic skills. The Catholic schools are especially successful, it would seem, with minority young people, indeed all young people whose fathers did not go to college and who themselves are in the general rather than academic track.

One could derive from this evidence that I have presented alternative policy proposals. One could say these schools are doing something very important; we ought to help them make the contribution if we are interested in facilitating the education of minority poor.

I think any other educational institution, supported by comparable data, would have no trouble getting that support. Or one might just as well conclude that the schools have done nicely so far without the Government or private philanthropic assistance. Once the Government begins to mess around with its aid and control, much of the good work apparently done by these schools will be canceled out. So you pays your money and you takes your choice.

If I were a Catholic school administrator, I might enjoy taking a somewhat different approach. I would summon before me the educational establishment, the National Catholic Education Association, various bureaucrats in the Department of



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Education, Parent Teacher Associations, Black Caucus, the NEA, the Teachers Union and other pertinent establishmentarian groups. I would say to them, "The hell with you," not to engage in more obscene recommendations. "We've done it by ourselves so far and we'll keep on doing it that way, if need be. We're not begging for your assistance. If pressures become so great that we have to close down some of our heavily black and Hispanic schools, then so be it. It won't hurt us any. We'll just free up our limited personnel for other work, and we'll stop an enormous drain on our financial resources."

When the last inner city Catholic secondary school is closed, it won't do all that much harm even to the religious orders of the Church. Maybe the Cardinal Archbishop of Chicago is right, maybe we have no obligation to educate non-Catholics.

We do the best we can as long as we can, and when we can't do it anymore, then we won't do it anymore. The only ones to suffer will be inner city minorities, particularly the less affluent members of the minority groups. Of course, this Republic which has some investment in providing educational opportunities, equal educational opportunities for all its citizens, will also suffer.

But don't blame us when the minority suffers if we close down."



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And then if I were such an administrator, I would turn to the educational research establishment, the Carnegie Corporation, National Institute of Education, the Ford Foundation, now that Jim Kelly's gone, elite teachers' colleges or the Education Department of the University of Chicago, and I would say to them again, "The hell with you," repressing the impulse to suggest certain anatomically impossible sexual acts. "You haven't been interested in us. You knew that something remarkable was happening in our schools. You knew that we were doing for about half the cost of children in the public sector. You knew that minority parents in ever-increasing numbers were choosing our schools. Still you wouldn't come to look at us, even though you would have been far more welcome in our schools than you would be in most public schools. You were content with your own fat answers and your own simple explanations.

When evidence was obtained to suggest that your pat and simple solutions didn't really fit what we were doing, you refused to consider that evidence. Okay. Fine. If that's the way you want it, that's the way it is. Only don't pretend that your educational research has any kind of scholarly objectivity."

Let me follow up on that last point in my conclusion. For the better part of two decades I have walked the corridors of buildings in this City and New York pleading with people to



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take a look at the phenomena of minority students in Catholic schools. The National Institutesof Education always referred me to the desegregation shops where we were resolutely told by adminstrators that they knew Catholic schools were segregationalist. The Carnegie Corporation, we were informed, was interested in the really poor and not the affluent minorities in Catholic schools.

The Ford Foundation, with the exception of the small grant, we were told that the input of Catholic schools towards the solution of urban education problems was not simply a high item on their agenda.

Some of our proposals to the National Institutes of Education were sent back with refereed comments like, "This project ought not to be done, because it would redound to the credit of Catholic schools."

Ms. Graham, when she was Director of NIE, would not return phone calls from NORC, perhaps because she thought it stood for National Organization of Roman Catholics. The great education backwoods of the country managed to be utterly uninterested in the research we were doing. Had it not been for the courage of Jim Coleman, Marie Eldridge and a small grant of support from Spencer, this project would never have been done. And I dare say a very substantial number of people here



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present wish that it had never been done. I do not think I am being paranoid. The raw facts about Catholic secondary schools have been there for all to see for a long, long time. Now that these raw facts have been reduced to statistical tables, there will be no more compelling reason for taking them seriously than there has ever been.

There are no funds available to continue this line of inquiry. I have already been told the Ford Foundation will put no more money into it. I don't expect anyone else, either the Government or the private research funding fraternity to continue to explore the fascinating question of why Catholic schools are successful in dealing with the offspring of the less affluent members of the society.

The general reaction is now, as it has always been, "Don't call us. We'll call you." Well, I won't be sitting at the phone waiting for the call.

Will Senator Kennedy, or Albert Schecter or Marion Barry begin to say nice things about the Catholic schools' service to the minority poor? Don't be silly? Will Teachers College of the University of Chicago promote faculty who do research on Catholic schools? Our team will become a loser.

Will NIE find basic research on the classroom experience in such schools? Will the Ford Foundation or the Carnegie



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Corporation sponsor and institute the study of detail over time the remarkable achievement of students of those schools? Don't make me laugh.

I will waive my time of rebuttal this afternoon to make up for the time I have gone over. I see no point in rebutting. As far as I can see, the only result of this forum would be to guarantee that research of the sort reported here will never be funded again.

The possibility that there might be something educationally interesting happening in Catholic schools must be buried in the depths of the ocean like dangerous radioactive waste.

MR. WENK: I'm sure you'd all like to hear, have the opportunity to hear the panelists' views. I suggest we reconvene at 11:25 after a short break.

(A luncheon break was taken.)

MR. WENK: All right. I would like to ask Dr. Gail Thomas to take the podium and share with us her review of the two studies.

Before I do that, I would make a small note. Messages are being held at the registration desk for phone calls that are coming in to various participants. When we break, perhaps you might want to check. Later in the day we will have



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available copies of the NCES technical papers on the two studies. They are apparently being reproduced and will be available by the end of the day. We'll make an announcement when they are here in the room.

Dr. Thomas.

DR. THOMAS: Let me first say that I am pleased to be here. I do thank the individuals who made this opportunity possible for me.

In responding to the two presentations by Dr. Coleman and Dr. Greeley I will discuss both documents simultaneously, and in doing so, I will raise two questions.

First, is the topic that the authors addressed relevant and useful for social policy? Secondly, apart from this issue, are the research findings convincing?

Beginning with the first question, my view is that although the documents have generated much interest in those assemble today, and they do demonstrate in many respects the talent of the authors, the subject matter of the documents is not relevant or useful for current policy research.

The reason is that our immediate educational concern should not be whether private schools are effective. Instead, our concern should be reflected in the questions of what can we do to improve our nation's public schools? How can we learn



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more effectively to promote the academic success and higher educational access and retention of the 90 percent of our youngsters who are still in these schools? What can we do to foster and encourage the already existing quality of public schools, as we do have some?

These are the relevant questions around which a policy seminar of this caliber ought to be conducted and future federal dollars invested.

I don't think it's necessary to refer to Dr. Coleman's or Dr. Greeley's findings to convince most Americans that private schools are better than public schools; whether totally or partially true or false, most Americans believe this. Therefore, the questions is so what? If private schools are better, what type of constructive direction or model for public schools can be derived from the results that have been presented this morning?

My assessment is that no promising direction for our public schools has been provided by the authors. And if their findings are acted upon, it would be detrimental to the public schools. Also, if taken seriously, the findings from Dr. Coleman's and Dr. Greeley's documents would undermine past and present the quality of educational opportunity efforts and all attempts to decrease the social class and racial disparities



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that currently exist in our society. Now, that's my response to the first question.

Now I'd like to devote the remainder of the time to the second issue, if we forget the point of irrelevancy. Are the findings reported by Dr. Coleman and Dr. Greeley convincing?

Now, I will discuss this question by focusing on what I think are the three most important policy proposals that Dr. Coleman presented in his document regarding the role of private schooling.

Now, the first proposal which is the most cogent argument for increasing the enrollment in private schools is that private schools produce better cognitive outcomes than public schools. Dr. Coleman and Dr. Greeley maintain that their data supported this premise. Dr. Coleman asserted this despite his observation that his results did not hold when controlling for family background and making comparisons on the sophomore to senior level, achievement gains between students in the Catholic schools and students in the public schools. But he rationalized here that the lack of supporting evidence was attributed to the greater sophomore-senior dropout rate in public schools which creates an upward bias in favor of the schools. Now, this rationale is not wholly adequate, because as Dr. Coleman has noted, the extensive and pervasive selection



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factor present in Catholic and other private schools outweighs any selection that would be taking place in the public schools. That's the problem of self-selection. In the private schools alone it's a critical variable that restricts the findings of Dr. Coleman and Dr. Greeley.

In addition, I think the lack of higher achievement measures for public and private school students, that is data at the elementary and senior high school levels, also restricts the author's conclusions that private schools produce better cognitive outcomes.

Now, another problem that challenges the conclusion here is the author's failure to segregate or stratify the public and private schools with respect to quality. Dr. Coleman acknowledged the fact that elite schools exist within the private sector. More importantly, he reported that student achievement was higher in both the higher-performance public and private schools than in the remaining schools.

In addition, he noted that there were only a limited number of high-performance public and private schools in the numbers. Thus, it is important to examine in more detail other possible similarities between the high-performance public and private schools. In addition, it would be important to know the quality of the remaining schools and the extent to which they



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are similar or different. And finally, with respect to the premise that private schools are more effective, the regression equations for the type of schools reported by Dr. Coleman accounted for less than 30 percent of the variance in student achievement.

Now, this clearly suggests, as the author himself points out, that there are important factors that are associated with student cognitive outcomes that are not taken into consideration in the Coleman or the Greeley analysis.

Now, the next important policy premise that I wish to consider is that private schools are religiously, socially and racially divisive. At first, it's common knowledge, as both authors agree, that the private schools are religiously distinct. Or 80 percent of the students enrolled in private schools are in religious-affiliated schools. So there is no debate here with reference to the religious composition of these schools.

But turning to the second point, that private schools are socially and racially distinct, Dr. Coleman and Dr. Greeley attempt to provide evidence to the contrary. Their conclusion is misleading, I maintain, because in discussing segregation within the public and the private sector they fail to adequately take into account the extent to which minority and disadvantaged



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students are under-represented in these schools. Now, this fact is acknowledged, but it's not highlighted as a critical factor. Black students constitute less than five percent of private school enrollment, and this percentage is even smaller for the non-Catholic private schools. Similarly, less than 20 percent of the students with family incomes of $15,000 or less are in the private schools.

So therefore, the issue for private school is not the degree to which students currently in these schools are or are not racially isolated relative to the public schools. Instead, the critical issue is the lack of minority representation in private schools.

I want to pursue this point a little bit further for just a moment, because I think it's a critical one. My colleagues and I have employed Dr. Coleman's segregation index to examine the extent of racial isolation at the higher education level. And like Dr. Coleman, we found that where black students gained the greatest access which was in the two-year and the four-year colleges the segregation index value was high, while it was lower where blacks have the least access relative to whites, that is at the graduate and professional school levels. And again, our findings demonstrated the importance of considering the problem of segregation and minority



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representation simultaneously when interpreting results. In addition, our findings reveal, like Dr. Coleman's, that whites are less likely to be present where blacks are highly concentrated, for example in elementary schools and traditionally black colleges which are relatively open to all groups.

However, in contrast, whites are more likely to be present where blacks are less concentrated, i.e. in the private secondary schools and in the graduate and professional schools. And, again, this is where the entry requirements are more stringent. So I would urge Dr. Coleman and Dr. Greeley to take the issues of access and admissions criteria into consideration when describing how public versus private schools fair with respect to racial isolation.

Now, the third and final premise that I want to talk about is in the Coleman document, and that is that facilitating the use of private schools aids whites and upper middle class students more than the racial minorities and disadvantaged groups.

Now, Dr. Coleman contends that this is not the case. He attempts to challenge this assumption in part by a hypothetical economic incentive argument. He cautions that we should not take the argument too seriously. However, given its potential implications, I think it's worth considering. Dr. Coleman


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presents calculations to show that a $1000 increment for all families who now have children in public schools would increase the use of private schools by all groups. In addition, he claims that an educational voucher system and a tuition tax credit would also facilitate the increased use of private schools by minority- and low-income students.

I maintain that Dr. Coleman's economic argument here is ill-based and rests on a number of unlikely assumptions. Now, these assumptions are as follows: No. 1, that all families will be behave in a uniform and predictable manner, or specifically that a) parents of the poor and racial minorities will and can afford to send their youngsters to private schools, and b) that given a sizable increase in black private school enrollment, that white parents of children currently in Catholic schools will not withdraw their youngsters from this portion of the private sector and re-enroll them in the rapidly-growing non-Catholic private schools.

Secondly, Dr. Coleman implicitly assumes that money is the only requirement for private school entry. However, academic credentials and recommendations are clearly a part of the admissions process for those students. The recent report by Robertson and others on private schools shows that over 75 percent of the schools require achievement records, and that a



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majority of them require personal references. I might add that it is very likely that if the demand for private schools by minorities does increase, private schools will probably become even more selective.

And thirdly, Dr. Coleman's argument implies that if there were a substantial demand for private schools by minorities, by low-income parents, that these institutions would be willing to accommodate these students, No. 1, and would be able to adjust their academic and disciplinary environments to meet the needs of these students.

Now, we can not accept this assumption without question.

And my final comment is with respect to Dr. Coleman's speculation that a tuition tax credit will also serve to increase the enrollment of minorities and disadvantaged students in the private schools. A recent census data indicates that this is also very unlikely. Estimated tax credits for families, and these are families who have children enrolled in private schools currently, show that families with incomes of $5000 or less -- there's about 3.2 percent of the families in this category -- would not receive the credit from the Federal Government.

Families in the 5- to 15,000-dollar income category -- that's about 16 percent -- would receive an estimated credit of



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$125, thus collectively receiving about $103,000,000 from the Federal Government.

Finally, families with incomes of $15,000 and above -- about 81 percent. Again we're talking about families with children in private schools -- would receive an average credit of $250 at a cost of over one million dollars to the Federal Government.

Now, these estimates alone clearly show that the well-to-do have more to gain from a tuition tax credit and at great cost to the Federal Government than the less able.

I will conclude at this point by returning to the second question that I raised. That is: are the findings that have been presented by Dr. Coleman and Dr. Greeley convincing?

And my best assessment, particularly with reference to the three policy premises that I have discussed, my conclusion is that they are not convincing, given the important methodological weaknesses associated with them and the incomplete evidence.

MR. WENK: Thank you, Dr. Thomas. I would like to have two additional panelists speak before lunch. This is a change of schedule somewhat so that the fourth panelist will be the first panelist this afternoon. Dr. Breneman, would you care to take the podium?



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MR. BRENEMAN: Thank you, Victor.

When Marie Eldridge called me and invited me to participate in the conference; she said she had a couple of very interestin reports, thought I'd find them interesting, and at this session I was to be tough critic and a fair critic and look at the reports carefully, and if anything, be very forthright in my comments.

Well, one of my colleagues at Brookings has observed that economists at Brookings are nothing if not forthright, by which he means they're right about a fourth of the time. So, with that caveat I will enter into this jungle.

Now, I did read both reports with interest, although I tried to do it mostly over this last weekend, and there is sort of a bog-down factor, I have to say, in trying to go through 300 pages as quickly as I did.

I am going to limit my comments, partly because of time, primarily to the Coleman-Hoffer-Kilgore report partly because I sensed in the Coleman report a greater push towards a policy proposal than I did in the Greeley report. In fact, I gather Mr. Greeley is somewhat ambivalent about the issue such as tuition tax credits and so forth. But coming out of the summary of the Coleman report I didn't sense any great ambivalence there. And so that perked my interest in what was



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going on in the report. But as an aside I found the findings and the discussion in the Greeley report absolutely fascinating, very important, and it would be a great tragedy if this were the end of the research on that subject.

Now, methodological problems: I do have two or three quibbles and problems and things that troubled me. Let me just tic them off very quickly. First, I got very intrigued with this index of segregation. Just to show how untutored I am, I hadn't run across this particular index before and I was having trouble figuring out what was going on as I read it. But it became clear, it became a very important vehicle for making the kind of public-private comparisons that I found sort of surprising. And so I realized I wasn't understanding the index so I played it back and forth on the data bit, and I guess my conclusion on it is that -- and again an untutored conclusion -- but it seems to me it's very misleading when it's used with small numbers, at least as I understand the statistics.

If I understand it correctly, if you had ten private schools that happened to have 99 white students and one black student each, this statistic would render a perfect .0 reading. There would be no, absolutely no segregation among these schools, and yet that's clearly, if not nonsense, uninteresting. Or it's



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misleading or it's something. It's a small numbers problems that I don't quite know how to put brackets around. But when you read on Page 44 that the average -- let's say the proportion of the average white schoolmates in the other private sector, for example, that are black is two percent, and then you tell me they're nicely distributed in sort of a uniform way among those private schools, I say whoop-de-do. I mean that is just not the issue. And I think I have trouble with the comparisons that are drawn throughout that cast public schools in a bad or a less favorable light when they rely heavily on that index. All right. Point one.

Now I have to get trendy, being an economist. I could not stand up here and talk to you for ten minutes without introducing supply side economics, and the most serious problem I really do have with the entire, not just the reports, but the survey and everything connected with it, if this is true, is that there is apparently no information gathered, certainly nothing in the reports to suggest we're going to learn anything about the behavior of the schools in question, the private schools who are selective and who make admissions and admit some and exclude some.

Perhaps that's wrong, but I didn't find that in there. And not knowing something about the behavior of the



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schools that are a very important part of the system, I mean the total system, it isn't just the parents who come limping forward with their thousand dollars or whatever, wanting to enroll in nice statistically mechanistic procedures. You've got schools sitting there on the other hand making decisions and admitting some and excluding some.

So when we get to the policy discussion in the report about what would happen if a thousand dollars were to drop from helicopters in everybody's mailbox and they suddenly were richer and can now make choices, I don't know how to interrupt what is presented there in terms of the slopes of the black, white, non-Hispanic, Hispanic patterns of enrollment as you ratchet everybody up a thousand dollars.

I have trouble with it even on the demand side. I just don't know that I believe that people will just uniformly march into the schools in the next increment of income as the pattern is explained up to this time.

Apart from that, I don't have any basis for judging what the enrollment outcome of that activity -- grant the Coleman report that behavior. Let's say that's what happened -- I just don't know what I think about what would wind up in the private schools. I don't have any feeling, for example, and didn't get it from the report about how much expansiveness there



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is in the private sector. I don't know how selective the schools are. I honestly don't know. I assume there are probably essentially open-enrollment schools in the private sector, but I don't know how many. I don't know which schools they are, and I just don't know, I don't have any information about the behavior of the schools, and I think that's just a very serious dilemma for this study.

In a similar vein I also have difficulties with several sections of the report where after statistical demonstration is presented, causality is imputed. Page 36 there is a comment to that effect, Page 49. It's stated that "clearly income accounts for X percent of something or other." And I'm leary about statements that seem to suggest there's an underlying causal model involved when at least one half of that model isn't there.

Finally, my last point which took a while before I was even aware that it was something that was bothering me, is the following. As far as I can tell, and I have not seen the full survey document, so there may be information in the survey that wasn't presented --as far as I can tell, there are no, there were no data used in this report that are sort of baseline measures of the students' basic intelligence or smarts or something. The background variables that are brought in quite



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properly to try to iron out differences in performance are fine. They are family background variables. They are clearly, I am sure, correlated closely with some notion of basic intelligence, native intelligence, but I don't know what your experience is, but I have met more than probably my share of kids from white upper-income professional families who are pretty dumb. And I think I've met an equal share of minority youngsters from low-income, low-class poor families who are pretty smart. And I'm not prepared to say that background variables on the family have somehow made it possible for me to look at comparable students which is the term that was used here.

Now, this is surprising in that-- I think I'm correct in that the predecessor to this survey, the NLS of 1972, I believe did have a number of basic aptitude, intelligence -- I don't know what they were, but there were some measures of this, apart from achievement, apart from family background, and until somebody gets those kinds of measures in these studies, I'm at a loss as to how to interpret these achievement gains.

I mean I suspect that the average student in the average private school is about some lump smarter than the average kid in the average public school. I suspect that. I suspect most of you, if I asked you, would say that. And if you start off with that kind of basic intelligence gap, and



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then you see that the achievement scores in my interpretation sort of reflect that gap and even go faster, because I'm prepared to believe that smarter people would develop faster. I just don't know how much credence to put in the interpretation that because we control for family variables we are now able to attribute differences to the school. I think there is an important personal characteristic variable lacking in the analysis.

Now, finally, how will this report be used or misused? I have a vision which I hope is wrong, but I suspect it isn't, and that is that Checker Finn's boss will standing on the Senate floor, Senator Moynihan, waving this report as evidence supporting tuition tax credits. If that happens, and I suspect it might, I think that would be a great misservice to social science, to kids, to schools, to just about everybody involved in this affair.

In light of the history of the earlier Coleman report and some of the public confusion and concern and just general -- well confusion. Let me leave it at that -- that that generated over a period of time, as reinterpreted, and these things kept dribbling out -- it seems to me that NCES must recognize that they're not dealing with just another social science report, but rather with a sort of public event, a media



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event. Look at the crowd. This is not the typical reaction that your run-of-the-mill sociologist generates when they knock out a research report. Right?

So we're into a different game, and because of that, if you haven't been convinced by the three hours that preceded this, the possibilities are endlessly confusing people about whether you've got interaction in there and whether that takes care of all this stuff. It's certainly beyond the ken of the American public who is going to have to vote on some of the policy issues that are involved in this thing.

It seems to me there is almost -- it could be a public service for NCES, NIE or National Academy of Science or someone to bring together quickly and not let this thing drag out forever a group of broadly representative social scientists and let them take, as Dr. Coleman has suggested, that quite rightly the data are available. Let's get into this awful process of re-analysis. Let's look at some of the criticisms that have been raised. Let's try to report out -- I don't know how you ever ultimately -- we're moving toward the notion of a science court when you get into this -- but somehow report to the public what a broadly representative group of people say about this report. I think that would be perhaps one of the best services that could come out of this conference. Thank you.



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MR. WENK: I would like to call on Dr. Donald Erickson before we break for lunch.

MR. ERICKSON: I feel I should assure you that I am going to abide by the time constraints very rigorously. Time is important. It is nature's way of assuring that not everything happens simultaneously.

Also I'm going to go easy on Greeley as some other people have done. Last time I had him visit a class, came across midway, made a presentation. I thought everything was congenial. Then we showed up in his next call. That's supposed to be a joke.

I have a feeling that Coleman has done it again, as in 1966. I think he has catalyzed another area of inquiry, and I'm not really much concerned in the longrun myself about misleading conclusions that may be drawn at this point. I'm willing to predict that this remarkable data set will be analyzed, re-analyzed, chewed over, thrown back and forth, and by the time we are done, we'll have a pretty good idea as to what the data do say and what they don't say, just as now we have a very good notion of what the data said in 1966. And we also know some of the reasons why they didn't say some of things that we thought they should say.

However, I'm concerned, like the previous speaker,



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about some deleterious short-term effects, and my personal view is that both documents were issued prematurely and that we would have been much better off if we had at least a month or two during which the authors would exchange their documents with scholars and get a lot of the cross-fire that's occurring today, and then go back and redo their documents.

I notice that in getting Coleman's revision which is, I assume, the document that was distributed today or should be distributed today, that he has reckoned, I think very well, with some of the original criticism that he received, and this is the way scholars ought to operate. I think we should welcome cross-fire, and I don't particularly care what the motivation is when I get it. It can be helpful if I take it seriously.

Now, I am excited by this data set, and I want to congratulate the National Center for Educational Statistics, Marie Eldridge, Robert Lamborn of the Council for American Private Education, several other people who had the good foresight to see that the data set would be as useful as it is. It is remarkable as a data set. It is unprecedented, and I think that, as I have suggested, it signals a new era in which for the first time we'll be able to get some evidence on important issues.



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Do you know it's virtually almost 30 years since James Conant made the flat statement "The greater the number of students who attend independent, secondary schools the greater the threat to our national unity," a flat assertion. He had no evidence to support it or to contradict him. I think it's astonishing in the light of the millions that have gone into educational research, investigating virtually every corner of public education that you can imagine, sometimes quite redundantly, that it has not -- the Federal establishment has not been inspired until this point to begin gathering evidence upon an issue as critical as this.

Obviously, if independent schools or private schools are a threat to our national unity, we ought to know it. And here we have a data set that speaks quite correctly to that problem. I hope that now that the question has been opened up sufficient funds will be provided from whatever sources to capitalize on the opportunity.

Now, my own personal view is that the most valuable part is the straight, descriptive part. When Coleman and Greeley provide evidence on who attends the private schools as compared to the public schools, what the income distributions are, what their religious affiliations are, whether they're blacks, Hispanics or other whites, it's very difficult to argue



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with those factual data, and I think we should have highlighted them more, because they raise very profound questions. Another very straightforward part, particularly in Coleman's report, and to some extent in Greeley's report, the straightforward factual data on how the private schools function.

And, incidentally, these data fit in very well with previous research on private schools, suggesting that there is a different timing, generally speaking, in the private schools than there is in the public schools. It's hard to argue with those data, particularly when you compare these data with data from studies which use other methodologies. They suggest to me rather simple-mindedly, but importantly, that the private schools as compared with the public schools are generally characterized by more orderly environments, by greater attention to student learning, by more consensus surrounding the idea that learning is important, by less disruptive student behavior, and by a greater sense of community, particularly as far as parents are concerned.

I think that simple fact simply ought to be held up and highlighted more, and we ought to look at it and say, what are the implications of that? Because I think the implications are great. If you look at the research of Rutter in England, of McGouse in Ireland, a beginning teacher evaluation study in



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California, Cooley's research with follow-through, these studies seem to emphasize very strongly the possible connection between these planned variables and instruction. Furthermore, there is a wealth of research on private schools to indicate that that is what parents have in mind when they pick a private school. If you look at the responses carefully, what they seem to say predominantly when they pick a private school is I have a particular kind of climate in mind. I want a climate that is orderly. I want a climate where teachers are committed to student learning. I want a place where there aren't disruptions and where my kid can concentrate on learning.

Now, I think there are these profound differences along this line between public and private schools. As I say, I think we ought to just hold them up as simply data and expatiate at some length on their possible implications, particularly in the light of the research.

I am going to suggest at this point with great respect to my two colleagues, Greeley and Coleman, that they both made a tactical error in this regard, and that their reports might have had a more salutary influence if they had concentrated upon those descriptive data which nobody can argue with very well, particularly when they've been replicated, as I say, in other places using entirely different methodologies.



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But I'm afraid that the impact of those central and really provocative findings, as the discussion thus far has demonstrated, are going to be overshadowed by a lot of argument about this segregation index, which bothers me too, incidentally, and about the prediction of what will happen if you increase incomes by a thousand dollars, which also bothers me, and by the attempts to make cause-effect connections. And I too find those attempts simply not persuasive.

I'm not going to take the time, because I don't have the time, to go into that. But I could provide you with a little evidence. In British Columbia we're discovering that where the Government has stepped in and has, in effect, increased incomes of parents who want to attend private schools, that the schools absorb the money by increasing teachers' salaries. So you wouldn't expect a new influx, and probably Coleman's predictions would not hold up.

And this was your point. We don't have any evidence (gesturing toward Dr. Greeley) on how the schools may respond. In an era when the demand for student space vastly exceeds the availability of student spaces, then obviously schools have the freedom to do that.

My own prediction is that a lot of schools would not do that, but we don't know. The point is that Coleman's data,



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his predictions don't tell us what's going to happen. I think what they do is create a whole lot of static that distracts us from the findings which are not subject to those difficulties.

Okay. Now I am going to suggest that, even though these attempts to make cause-and-effect connections, predictions, are questionable at this point, they're going to be less questionable approximately ten or two years from now, when we will have longitudinal data available. And I too, again, find this a fairly fatal flow. So what we're interested in is the increment in achievement that can be attributed to the school, and there is no way in the data that we can get a measure of that increment, because we have achievement measured only at one point in time.

I would suggest to you that there are lots of recent research to indicate that when you try to estimate the student's entry achievement by using social economic status, you get inconsistent findings from one study to another.

I'm also worried about something that nobody has mentioned yet, and that is the criteria variable, the achievement test scores. I think there is lots of evidence in Coleman's report to indicate that those scores may be reflecting primarily learning that occurred outside the school and before the high school years.



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And here I would point particularly to vocabulary scores and reading. Where did you learn to read? And they may turn out to be, as a matter of fact, pretty good proxies for background, so that the analysis becomes, in some respects, tautological.

Incidentally, one of the best discussions along this line was McGouse and his colleagues in "The Harvard Education Review" of May 1979.

Now there's a lot more I'd like to say, but let me close on two points. One is: I think the category known as other private schools is almost a nonsense category, because it includes everything from Andover to a one-room Amish school in Pennsylvania. It includes the fundamentalist schools which are the fastest growing schools in the United States and the most misunderstood and the most maligned schools in the United States. And it includes a tremendous variety. In my own research I found that at least a three-way breakdown in private schools is essential, and you get very meaningful differences between them. The Catholic schools can be treated by themselves; the other church-related schools can be treated by themselves; and you get some fairly meaningful results.

For example, you find out that your religious motivations are stronger in the other church-related schools than



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they are in the Catholic schools. But when they differentiate out the nonsectarian schools, you find that they are pretty radically different from the other schools that are lumped together in this "other school" category. So I'm bothered by that.

Let me close, though, by saying that I think the most important idea in the study is this, that Coleman points out at one point, and Greeley, as a matter of fact, alludes to this as well. If you start comparing public schools and private schools with the idea of denigrating one group of schools at the expense of the other, that's very misleading, because of the very important handicaps that are imposed upon public schools at the expense of -- in comparison with private schools.

Or to put it the other way: private schools have many things going for them the public schools do not have going for them. A more important question to ask is can we compare public and private schools in such a way that we can identify the handicaps that are imposed upon public schools and thus derive clues that we could use for the improvement of all schools, public and private.

Now this is essentially what Coleman was up to when he tried to identify the factors within schools that were responsible for the greater achievement of the students in



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private schools. Unfortunately, those weren't very good variables that he was using for the most part. For example, school size, I think, means so many different things, particularly in the private sector, that when you start controlling for it and using it to measure something you think is important, you may derive entirely spurious findings.

Just to give you an example, some small, private schools are smaller because of individual attention as a major focus. Some small, private schools are small because they're in rural areas. Others are small because they are associated with particular denominations which have very often off-beat approaches to education and some private schools are small because they're bad. They can't attract enough clients. Their reputations are terrible.

But if you move over to the public sector, you can visualize an entirely different set of reasons of why schools are small and other schools are large, so that in manipulating school size and simultaneously talking about a lot of other things, Coleman loses me. The assumptions become too immense for my intelligence, and I find that kind of analysis unconvincing.

However, one of the very best articles on this topic, namely on the kinds of conceptual models you need in



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order to do persuasive research on school effects appeared recently under the authorship of Charles Bidwell, and I notice that Bidwell credits Coleman for reading an earlier draft and giving him a lot of assistance. So I know in saying these things I'm not surprising Coleman at all. As a matter of fact, I suspect that the major reason why Coleman has not provided an analysis that is more firmly conceptually rooted is that he didn't have the data to do it with.

So I want to close with a very strong recommendation and that is that somebody, whether NCES, NIE or somebody else, ought to finance the gathering of carefully identified supplementary data on a subsample of the national sample to permit the kinds of analysis which I would guess Coleman would dearly love to do if the data permitted.

MR. WENK: Thank you. I suggest we break for lunch and resume at 1:15.

(A luncheon break was taken.)



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AFTERNOON SESSION

MR. WENK: I am going to ask Dr. Ravitch to take the podium.

DR. RAVITCH: Good afternoon. I hope you all met the challenge of eating quickly.

I am, I think, something of an anomaly on this panel in that I am not here as a representative of women, of New Yorkers or teachers colleges, nor am I a spokesman for public or nonpublic schools. I am not a trained statistician and I do not presume to speak knowledgeably about the methodological issues that have been employed in these two studies.

I am a historian with a broad interest in policy issues and specific interest in questions of educational quality. My purpose here today is to address the educational policy implications of the reports, though not necessarily the ones that Professors Coleman and Greeley are interested in.

The question that they put before us, among others, is whether Governmental policy ought to acknowledge the demonstrable excess of the nonpublic sector. In light of their findings should policymakers consider some sort of aid to parents who enroll their children in nonpublic schools.

This is the major policy implication of these papers. The question in my mind is whether Governmental assistance



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would inevitably impair the effectiveness of nonpublic schools as Government controls, in time, are attached to public dollars.

One need only recall that throughout the 1940s and 1950s and early 1960s whenever Federal aid to education was under discussion, a regular chorus scoffed at the suggestion that Federal aid might involve even a whisper of Federal control. Ridiculous! What an idea! Why should the Federal Government ever want to tell a local school district anything other than "Here is the money."

Yet in recent years the Federal Government has become deeply involved in ways that would have been unthinkable when the Federal role was authorized in 1965. Who would have dreamed that the Department of HEW would one day tell the State of Iowa how many girls should be permitted to play on a high school basketball team or make regulations about dress rules at father and son dinners?

Recalling this recent history, I can't help but wonder whether any gift horse for the nonpublic schools may turn out to be the Trojan horse that undermines the very quality that makes the nonpublic sector distinct from the public schools.

Having raised that caveat, I wish to direct the remainde of my remarks to the implications of these reports for public



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education. Both reports conclude that nonpublic schools provide better education than public schools. I note from the newspaper that some critics have assailed these findings as methodologically unsound and have tried to discredit the authors as biased.

Yet if the findings on academic course enrollment, on homework, absenteeism and discipline are correct, and no one has yet suggested that they are not, then it would be remarkable that public school students were performing as well as those in nonpublic schools.

The important finding, I think, is the differences that are documented in school policies, not those differences attributable to family background or native intelligence, whatever that may be, but the differences in school policies. For, on almost all those measures that we normally associate with good education, the nonpublic schools seem to be doing better than the public schools.

To argue that these factors do not make a difference is to argue that there is no difference between a good school with good attendance, good academic offerings and good discipline, and a school where the opposite conditions prevail.

I am intrigued by the educational questions that these reports pose. The Coleman paper, in particular,



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constitutes a powerful critique of American public schools. The "High School and Beyond" study has brought together a valuable array of national comparisons based on data that is fully available to other scholars.

As a result of this present Coleman report, we now know a great deal more than we did before about practices and policies of the nation's public schools. When we see the Table which shows the percent of seniors, for instance, who have completed certain advance courses, we can better understand the growing concern about the declining competence in foreign languages, science and mathematics.

The President's Commission on Foreign Languages last year expressed alarm about the small number of those engaged in language study. According to the Commission, four years of study is considered necessary for competence in a foreign language. Yet only six percent of the public high school seniors in Coleman's study have completed as much as a third year in Spanish, French or German.

While children in Russia and Japan learn our language, a miniscule number of ours learn theirs. And the same data reported last fall that National Science Foundation warned that most Americans are headed, quote, "towards virtual scientific and technological illiteracy," unquote, a prediction that is



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reflected in the proportions of public high school seniors who have completed chemistry, 37 percent; trigonometry, 22 percent; physics, 18 percent; and calculus, 6 percent.

The Catholic and other private school figures for all of these courses are higher, so much so that I suspect that they are electives in many public schools and requirements in many or most of the nonpublic schools.

Furthermore, we learn that the majority of public school students believe that discipline in their schools is neither effective nor fair. We learn also that public schools experience more disciplinary problems than do nonpublic schools.

As we all know, nonpublic schools have the power to exclude disruptive students, while the public schools are subject to details, due-process adversarial procedures.

Speaking intuitively as a parent, I would speculate that the discriplinary climate of the nonpublic schools is strengthened by the students' awareness that school officials have the ability to punish them. Having this ability makes it unnecessary to use it.

Conversely, I would imagine that the disciplinary climate of the public schools is impaired when students know that misbehavior has few consequences. One topic that requires further investigation is whether the legalization of the



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disciplinary process, as Coleman suggests, has had the opposite effect from what was intended in that it has undermined discipline instead of establishing a fair, effective disciplinary policy.

Coleman reminds us here of what parents and teachers have always known. Discipline problems take time away from instruction and impair educational effectiveness. We also learn from Coleman that homework matters.

According to his figures, three fourths of the public high school students do an hour or less of homework per day, and one out of every four does an hour or less per week. Is it any wonder that SAT scores and other standardized measures of verbal skills are still dropping?

By the way, the SAT scores for 1980 were the lowest ever.

How could anyone have time to read a novel or write an essay with so little time for schoolwork outside the classroom? Homework demands are higher in Catholic schools and highest of all in the high-performance private schools.

Look, for example, at the percent of Tenth graders in Coleman's Tables. The percent of Tenth Graders who do an hour or more of homework each night: in the public schools, 25 percent; in the Catholic schools, 46 percent; in other private



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schools, 50 percent; and in the high-performance public schools, 50 percent; and in the high-performance private schools, 83 percent. This is not simply reflecting a difference in social background. This is reflecting a difference in school policy.

With the extra time that public school students have public school students watch more television than do their peers in nonpublic schools.

As Coleman demonstrates, and I believe convincingly, on what we know about the importance of time on task, that is the educational concept that the more time you spend learning something, the more likely you are to learn it better than someone who spends less time on it. Given the importance of time on task it makes sense that lesser assignment of homework, greater absenteeism and higher incidence of disciplinary problems actually reduce achievement levels in the public schools. To argue that they do not is to argue that the quality of education makes no difference.

What we have here, I believe, is not simply a contrast between public and nonpublic schools, but a persuasive, well-documented indictment of American public education. Coleman suggests a model in which the climate of learning is conditioned by good behavior and effective discipline, in which educational quality is measured by cognitive growth, student



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self-esteem, school spirit, teacher interest and student completion of academic courses. He projects an ideal schooling in which intelligence is sharpened and strengthened, not just for the few who choose to take quality courses, but for many. Judged by his model, American education comes up short. Anyone who has read the last two chapters of Richard Hoffstadter's "Anti-intellectualism in American Life" is aware that American public education has not been receptive to Coleman's model.

My own views on this matter are elaborated in an article that will appear in next week's "New Republic" magazine. If there is anyone who doubts that universal public education of high quality is at least theoretically possible, and I would suggest that most people do doubt that, I would recommend to you William K. Cummings new book, "Education and Equality in Japan."

Among American educators the emphasis on meeting needs, appealing to interest has been a battle cry for at least 50 years. It has made public education vulnerable to pressures to lower requirements, to dilute standards, to insert electives to make basic courses optional, to accept technical, vocational and other utilitarian courses, and to tolerate intolerable behavior.

To the extent that Catholic and other private schools



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have been outside this pedagogical mainstream, they have been able to function in ways that make better schools and promote better learning.

There are powerful lessons to be learned by public educators from these papers. I know that many public school advocates will attack these reports because of their financial and political implications. I hope that in doing so they do not make the mistake of rejecting the educational implications, for to do so would be to strengthen the case of those who have already given up on public schools.

Thank you.

MR. WENK: Thank you. I'd like to introduce Dr. Michael Olivas.

DR. OLIVAS: Whenever I discuss this particular topic, I feel it important to state my apostasy right off the bat. As a student myself in the Catholic schools practically all my life, I think it's important for me to acknowledge my eight years in Catholic elementary school, my four years in Catholic high school, my eight years as a student for the Catholic priesthood, my four years in a Catholic law school, and five years in a godless, infidel, public institution for my M.A. and my Ph.D.

And it's also important for me to acknowledge a debt



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to my grandmother who voted for Catholic presidents because they were Catholic.

I would like to say with regard to Professor Greeley's paper that I think that there is much going on in the paper that is buried in footnotes that I found particularly intriguing, and feel it necessary to discuss.

In particular the NLS data base is atypical with regard to Hispanics. The fact that we can measure students who are seniors in high school suggests automatically that they are different than 30 percent of their Hispanic counterparts who never make it to the senior level in high school.

As a matter of fact, some of the quibbling over attrition rates somewhat resembles whether or not we can ascertain minority unemployment rates during the summer. Are they 60 percent, or are they really 70 percent?

I also suggest that what is being measured in this particular Hispanic cohort, at least, is Cubaness; although Cubans are only five percent of the Hispanic population in this country, over 30 percent of the Hispanics in this particular sample are Cuban. The fact that 70 percent of the fathers of Catholic school students are immigrants and 68 percent of their mothers suggests that what we have is an atypical, even for Hispanic norms, population, even though I believe that the



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difference between immigration and refugee status is an important legal and political distinction, I think it's important to see what we really have here is the artifact of a refugee group brought to this country. Remember now, these are 18-year-olds in 1980 who are brought here by families who fled because of political considerations and have relocated in many cases with considerable financial relocation assistance.

Now, this is not to indict the political or immigration status that brought these students here. I think it is important to understand that there are Hispanics and there are Hispanics. And, although on Page 8 Professor Greeley indicates that no distinction is possible to be drawn, his own Tables A-1 and A-2 do precisely that, and disaggregate Hispanics.

Furthermore, work from NORC, and particularly that of Francois Nielsen and Roberto Fernandez which is in press, points to major differences and distinctions to be drawn between Hispanic subgroups. I think it's particularly important when lumping together a group that contains so many varied groups, particularly important when using the rubric "Hispanic," to be particularly careful that we don't fall into the trap of lumping indigenous, colonized Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans who were here before there was a country, along with groups brought lock, stock and barrel to this country. And these have



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affected the data, and I think unless we acknowledge that and disaggregate it properly, that it will lack the historical and demographic and sociological care that is necessary to make policy inferences from this data.

There are other judgments being made in Professor Greeley's paper that I found curious. There is a notion of an "effective" ratio of teacher integration. While several people this morning spoke of the integration of student enrollments, it's particularly important to look more carefully at Table 8.2 which suggests that although minority faculty are 14 percent of public-school, they're only five percent of Catholic-school faculties.

And we have now yet a third category: Catholic minority schools, which has not been spelled out, who have only 16 percent minority faculty. If this is an effective ratio, then it's quite unclear to me how private schools, whether they be Catholic or Catholic minority, are more "effective" in their ratio of desegregation among the teachers.

There is also, in my view, an inadequate concern in per-pupil costs that are articulated at Page 89 and thereabouts. I think it is particularly important to understand the kinds of cost figures that go into the determination of per-pupil costs. This has been finessed, perhaps because that



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wasn't the major focus of the paper, but it raised intriguing questions, both methodologically as well as economically and fiscally.

For example, it is quite clear that Catholic schools have fewer laboratory facilities, special education programs, or requirements under P.L. 94-142. It's quite clear that they have different mandates with regard to Lau, that is language bi-lingual education remedies, and that these are not accounted for. Instead, we have a rather crude measure of per-pupil costs. It perhaps, unfortunately, also makes the suggestion that there is no subsidy to Catholic schools.

I would remind people who would believe this that the tax breaks from Church-held property quite clearly in every economic term would constitute subsidy, tax breaks both from the property, as well as the perhaps unspoken subsidy that religious faculty frequently contribute in their own time and reduced salaries.

I would note also that Professor Greeley's own data suggest that 20 percent of the income of the schools comes from diocesan and other contributions, that is collections taken by dioceses on given Sundays and earmarked for Catholic schools. I think this is an important fiscal consideration that in its own terms deserves study.



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I'm more concerned with the leaps of faith required to understand Professor Coleman's paper. In particular, I think that the supposition that if everyone were given a thousand dollars, they could simply attend Catholic school, is intended for shock value rather than for pricking our consciences or aiding the debate.

I think an important point that could have been picked up from previous NLS data was that minority students frequently have fewer information sources than do Anglo students. And I think that the information inequities that are built into full voucher plans, whether they be simple extensions of the broad program, whether they be voucher plans where people are given money and allowed to choose, or whether they're combinations of these, all have as a supposition that there is a free market at work, and all we have to do is given disadvantaged poor minority parents the money and that they will link themselves up with schools.

I would suggest that this is only possible if Anglos weren't given the money and weren't given the information, because in a market deliberately proposed to be dynamic, wealthier people, more advantaged people are going to have even additional increments of information. And I think we'll have a widened choice, and I think that simple economic projections, econometric



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projections, how people will behave given certain amounts of money, or a supposition that tax credits will be progressive when families make disproportionately low incomes, simply do not square with economic theory as we know it.

One additional indication, that we have a different group of Hispanics here than those with whom I am familiar, is the data on family income. While there are a number of severe technical and conceptual problems with children reporting their parents' income, particularly impoverished children suggesting what it is that their parents make, according to the NLS data a significant number of Hispanic families are wealthy, in striking contrast to Census Bureau figures that suggest that 45 percent of all Hispanics make less than $5000 a year, and only 1.6 percent of all Hispanics have a median income of $25,000 a year or more.

I suggest you go back and very carefully overlay these figures, gathered for the purpose of determining income with the figures reported in NLS where students were simply estimating what it was their parents made. I suggest also that in a classroom filling out these forms no particular honor or glory accrues to students who report accurately their parents' income, even if they did know it.

I am also concerned about additional evidence, apart



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from the self-reported data, that suggests that Hispanic segregation has actually increased. OCR data for 1976, the most recent that we have, suggest that two thirds of all Hispanic students are in school systems where the minority population is actually in the majority. And this is increasing in every sector of the country. It's no longer considered a western phenomenon. We have school systems in the East that are predominantly Puerto Ricano and in the Southeast predominantly Cubano and Puerto Rican.

So with regard to methological considerations I would caution that before inferences that are relevant to policy be made, particularly treating minority students, that those minority data be more carefully considered for what they both show and do not show.

Let's make sure that we are testing people who are in the vernacular of the day "truly needy," or at least let's assume that what we're measuring is both true and a measure of necessity.

I would conclude by saying that in my view this is not a research question and likely as not, research will no more inform this particular debate than it has any other equity debate. After all, if we can with one fell swoop of the legislative pen declare $25,000 a year or less middle



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income for purposes of middle-income student assistance, then surely research is not going to inform us about whether or not performance in a given sector ought to mean different legislative or policy or program considerations. It is a political question. I think we have to acknowledge it as such. I think it is clearly a legal and Constitutional question which nobody has mentioned today, and yet these data must be framed in that context.

It is surely an economic question, and I think it deserves more thorough, if more conservative, economic analysis in terms that are understandable as economic terms. So, while I think that research informs-- I've spent my life trying to do research and to inform -- I would acknowledge that it does so only barely.

I urge caution in political pronouncements and policy considerations with data that we don't truly understand yet, and even once we understand, I don't really understand how we can make them work to make equity more than just public pronouncements.

Thank you very much.

MR. WENK: I'd like to ask Dr. Checker Finn to take the podium, please.

DR. FINN: Thank you very much. I think that this



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is an important event, and it should be a happy event. Most importantly, we celebrate the acquisition of a huge and significant body of information about American secondary education of every kind. It is now becoming available, and when the second stage of the longitudinal study is available two years hence, there will be that much more available.

The second important consideration today is that this symposium in an important sense legitimizes the study of private education, allows it to come out of the closet, if you will. That is a good thing for several reasons. Most obvious, one child in ten attends private school, and it seems only reasonable that one scholar in ten, one research dollar in ten, one research paper in ten, one symposium in ten would say something about private education. This has not been the case.

A handful of scholars, Don Erickson and Andy Greeley prominent among them, who have been interested in what goes on in private schools have had enormous difficulty getting their research supported, particularly by Government.

Overall NIE has been actively hostile to the study of private education, though it should have been a leader in the field. Now we find that NCES with its much smaller budget



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and much heavier on-going responsibilities has made it possible for the data to be gathered and some of the analysis to be performed. Thank heavens also for private foundations, such as the Spencer Foundation, that have underwritten other parts of the analysis and that I trust will continue to do so, because particularly in sensitive policy domains it is sometimes better for Government to pay for data to be gathered and for non-Government sources to underwrite the analysis of the data.

Nevertheless, I think that Marie Eldridge and her team are to be commended, nay, saluted. NCES is one of the least recognized agencies in the Federal establishment, and it's certainly not without its shortcomings. But today's event and the events leading up to it attest to vision, courage, tenacity and imagination on the part of the NCES leadership.

I also would simply like to make the point that this is an entirely nonpartisan event. This data gathering was commenced under the Carter Administration; it is published under the Reagan Administration. I dare say nothing would have been different had the election gone the other way.

There is another major trend in American education policy research that is manifest here today. That is the rekindling of interest in high schools. For about a decade and a half, research has concentrated on the early years and on



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post-secondary education. But, as anyone familiar with the ambitious plans of Theodore Sizer and his associates on the one hand, and Ernie Boyer of the Carnegie Foundation on the other, already knows, more than 20 years after James B. Conant wrote "The American High School" it is time for another look. That look is beginning to be taken, and the "High School and Beyond" data will be invaluable, particularly if the project continues according to plan. And continue it must. Anyone who wants to interfere with the full-scale continuation of this longitudinal study, whether on political, ideological or budgetary grounds, is guilty of a crime against scholarship, against future educational reform, and most important, against our nation's youth, and should be so treated.

(Applause.)

I am not going to do justice today to the actual data and analysis. For one thing, I'm not a good enough statistician to play in this analytical league, and since I find it embarrassing to strike out, I won't even pick up a bat.

But the important point is not what those of us who have had the volume for a week or two have been able to determine about the accuracy and validity of the statistical manipulations. It is that there now exists a body of data, the base line in this vital and important longitudinal study, that



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scholars and analysts can chew over for years to come. In this instance there is no dearth of analysts, but there is often a shortage of decent data to be analyzed to examine important questions and issues of the day and of the morrow.

Today's event is therefore more accurately compared to the opening of a new gold mine than to the opening of another branch of Tiffany's, a day to start digging for nuggets that will have to be refined and worked and mixed with alloys and handled by skilled jewelers, not a day to look at finished necklaces and earrings.

That said, let me proceed to speculate a little on the public policy implications of the Coleman and Greeley findings, assuming that they are reasonable accurate and valid and that re-analysis reinforces them.

I do not claim that this is so, though I'm sufficiently familiar with the work of these distinguished scholars to know that anyone who sets out to second-guess them has his work cut out for him.

I kind of wish that they had first published their data and subsequently published their policy conclusions. I know lots of people, including certain elected officials, who would be only too happy to interpret the policy conclusions, so long as they were handed the data. But we have both data and



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policy conclusions and I think we should speak to them as well. I'm going to mention seven policy implications, again assuming that the basic analysis is proven valid.

First, I think we have powerful confirmation of the view that schools make a difference and that different schools make different differences. Educators can take heart. They are not simply providing conduits and credentials to youngsters whose educational outcomes are fore-ordained by their choice of parents, classmates and communities. They are operating institutions that strongly affect those youngsters and the way they operate their institutions makes a difference in the way the youngsters are affected.

Second, we begin to get a reasonably clear picture of the kinds of educational environment that are most apt to have a strong, positive effect on academic outcomes of students. Not surprisingly, that picture corresponds closely to what many parents and educators have always taken for granted. The strongest and most positive effects are found in stable, orderly, disciplined school environments where such academic activities as homework are stressed, where attendance is regular, where morale is high, where disruptions are minimal, where a lot is expected of students, and where teachers are enthusiastic and involved.



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Third, we see more clearly than before that while such environments are apparently more characteristic of private schools than public schools, to the extent that they are found in public schools the results are comparable. This suggests an obvious challenge to those who run the public schools and set policies for them, namely to attempt to create educational environments more similar to those that today are more characteristic of private schools.

I do not suggest that this will be easy. The obstacles are many, but clearly it is not impossible, even with respect to such distinctive qualities of private schools as their ability to select students and to expel disruptive students. Most of us can remember when public schools did those things too, at least when some public schools in some cities did those things.

There is no reason why they can't again. Of course there are lots of reasons why they don't, and lots of reasons why it is difficult to retrieve that kind of educational environment in public schools. But I think it is not impossible, and I think that it is time for public educators to stop whining about the constraints under which their schools labor, and to start doing something about those constraints.



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Fourth, I think parents who send their children to private schools can hold their heads a little higher. The choice they are making and the sacrifices that accompany that choice for many families turn out to have a rational, educational basis, as opposed to the aura of the elitism, escapism and sectarianism that has surrounded private school attendance in many communities.

Fifth, some of the more squalid arguments against aiding private school students are going to be more difficult to sustain, specifically the allegations that aiding such students will foster racial and socio-economic segregation, and the charge, less often heard today but common a few years back, that private schools are educationally inferior and that no one should be helped to attend such second-rate institutions.

Sixth, somewhat perversely, as has been noted before today, private school leaders and private school parents may be less eager for Government assistance than in the past, wary that such assistance may inevitably contaminate them with the kinds of controls, constraints and limitations that apparently have impaired the functioning of many public schools as educational institutions.

It should be noted, too, that much of the political argument for such aid has been based on the supposition that



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private schools are weak, near comatose institutions in dire need of a transfusion. Today's data suggest, perhaps, the opposite is more nearly the case, at least in educational terms, though it may also reinforce the argument for aiding low-income families in being able to make this choice for their children.

Seventh and finally, any really long view of the future prospects of American education should purge itself of the simple-minded division of schooling between public and private. It is now clear that there is enormous variation within each of those two sectors, and in many cases the differences within are more consequential than the differences between.

Perhaps, just perhaps we can begin to move beyond the mind set that pits public against private as if each term embodied a homogeneous and immutable reality in a pretend battle for students' resources and popular esteem.

Perhaps, just perhaps we can return to the quest for public and private policies that acknowledge diversity and validate choice, even as efforts are made to imbue all schools with characteristics conducive to educational quality.

Thank you very much.

MR. WENK: Thank you very much, Dr. Finn.

I would like to introduce Dr. Ayars, the Superintendent



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of Schools from Norfolk, Virginia.

DR. AYARS: Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. I am very happy to be with you today, I think.

I couldn't help thinking as I sat here today that much of great value should come out of the studies about which we have heard today and out of the discussion which we have had today. And I think it can, providing we try to use the results in the way of constructive assistance, in the way of providing better instruction for all boys and girls.

And I sincerely hope that the results of these studies will not be used in a divisive way.

I think that to judge the studies and their results we have to put them into the perspective of our time. I call to your attention the fact that we have come through a great social revolution in this country since World War II. After that War millions of our young people were returning to peacetime pursuits, as you will recall. They were young people who came out of the War with enthusiastic patriotism and high ideals. They were educated in the public, private and parochial schools, and they were trained in critical thinking, and they applied that critical training to a good look at our society following World War II and they found that the society lacked a few things which our founding fathers had thought should be a



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part of it. There was not the quality of opportunity for all people, there was not complete freedom of expression. They looked at business and industry and government and various of our other institutions, and they found they were not operating in accord with the ideals, the climax of this coming with Watergate. And a great civil rights movement started in American which has brought wonderful results in most ways for us.

And out of all this they also found many weaknesses in our institutions, and there had been a tremendous lowering of competence in virtually all of our existing institutions, including public education, despite the tremendously outstanding track record of public education as the moving force, the engine of a democratic society.

There are other things bad that have come out of this social revolution. Of course, some people have confused liberty and license, but in general the results have been good.

But so far as public schools are concerned, you have to look at them in that context. As a result of this revolution we now have in education, so far as high school students are concerned in America, about 94 percent of the young people of high school age. Prior to World War II we had somewhere in the neighborhood of 50 percent.



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And in the public schools we are expected to do with all students what we did with a relatively select few prior to World War II. Now, by most objective research that has been conducted, we're probably doing a better job than we ever did before with students of comparable backgrounds and abilities.

But comparing us with private and parochial schools is like comparing us with ourselves prior to World War II. If you make the comparisons on a really comparable basis, we measure up very well. But we're actually educating a different population.

For one thing, public schools are now expected, primarily as a result of our social revolution, to do more things for more people than they ever were expected to do before in history. You look at the offerings of the public schools as compared to other schools, in music, in art, in work experience, in vocational education, in career education, in community-based education of various types, in alternative schools, in special education, and we have to be judged on the basis of all those things.

It puts us in a different perspective than we've ever been in before. We have administrative problems we didn't have before. I was first the Superintendent of Schools in 1945, and I'll tell you, it's a different ballgame today than



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it was in 1945. It has already been mentioned, the various Federal programs, the regulations, the due process, the adversarial relationship, the adversarial processes. I'm not complaining about those, but those are all part of the things that we do in the public schools and by which we're judged differently than are people in private and parochial schools.

I think what we should do with the results of the studies we have heard today is to find out what replication is possible from what we see in private and parochial schools that could be applied in the public schools, and perhaps we can benefit in that way.

However, so far as the results which have been presented to us are concerned, I think the worst mistake we could make is to come to unfounded conclusions on the basis of what we have seen. I rather feel that most of the differences in the final analysis, if we go on with the studies, and I should certainly say we should, can be accounted for by a variety of criteria.

For example, the private and parochial schools are smaller. They have more middle class and upper socio-economic people. They are selective and exclusive. And I, as a public school administrator, can testify to that every day of the week. The students who go to private and parochial schools are accepted



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on the basis of their criteria. If they become discipline problems, they go back into the public schools. We get them all the time. If they are serious special education problems, they go to the public schools. So they are selective and they are exclusive. They have a narrower academic mission by which to be judged than do we in our equity function.

They prepare students primarily for college. That is their basic mission. In a recent study, just announced today by the American Association of School Administrators, the "National Assessment of Educational Progress," report, a study out of Denver in which the data would appear to be in absolute opposition to what we have heard here today, indicating that on the basis of a comparison of variables the public school students do as well, if not better, than private and parochial schools do.

I mention this only because I think we should continue to pursue these studies, because we have just not had enough analysis as of yet.

I think that the population of the public schools has been affected very much by the middle class swing into private and parochial schools. I am sure that we in Norfolk Public Schools, at Ford City, have certainly recognized that we have a much more diverse student body, and we'd like to



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think that the strength of public education can be built on diversity, just as the strength of our nation has been built on diversity.

But we have to assess a lot of other benefits than just the cognitive aspects to determine the comparable merits of parochial, private and public education.

I feel that there is an inherent economic bias in some of the results we have heard, not just because of the economic level of a particular student, but because of the influence overall in the school population of a majority of persons whose parents are financially able to choose and send them there, as well as the purposefulness, the aspiration and so forth which students see in their fellow students.

I feel that private and parochial schools render a very valuable service in America. I hope that we can learn from it. But I think that the comparisons which have been made today have to be investigated thoroughly. I think that we have not included enough background, included enough on family background, on student-body characteristics, on the offerings of the various schools. And there is some evidence even in these studies to indicate that after the backgrounds are considered, public school students may well perform as well as do those in private and parochial, when other variables are held



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constant. We have to also give further consideration, in my opinion, to the programs of the schools, rather than the schools themselves. But I think there is a good deal of evidence in these studies, as well as in other studies, to indicate that it isn't necessarily just the positive effects of the schools that comes to bear upon differences in achievement, so much as it is the program of the schools. And in similar programs in different schools the achievement might be more comparable.

I think parental expectations and socio-economic status have to come into more study. I was intrigued by the matter of segregation, the report that there is less segregation in the parochial than public schools. I wish that I could have had these people present back in 1971. The Federal judges in Norfolk know all about this.

I am very confident that the definition of segregation given here today would not hold water with that Federal judge who ordered our desegregation plan.

Other differences that I think we need to look at more thoroughly: I mentioned family expectations. On the matter of discipline, obviously there is a difference in the general atmosphere if in one school all those who cause trouble can be sent over to the other school. And that is exactly what happens. We have to handle those cases, even in special



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education. There are special schools, specialized schools all over this country in various places to handle students under Public Law 94.142 in special education.

We in Norfolk have at least a dozen students at our schools today that no private school, built for the purpose, will handle, we have been handling. We have the idea that specialized psychiatric institutes and various other schools can handle almost any child. But we have some that only we have to handle. Obviously, that affects the atmosphere of our school system.

The matter of cost. One of my colleagues mentioned that, but I think it should be mentioned again. We're not comparing blank factors when we compare the cost in private parochial schools and public schools, because of all the various programs and services which we must provide and the breadth of the programs we provide which they do not necessarily provide.

I think in some instances the studies which we have heard about today tend to confuse cause and effect. I think you could make a good case for the fact that students achieve better in private and parochial schools because they are better students who are going there to begin with.

Overall I think that we can benefit from the studies we have heard about. I would hope that more research will be



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done regarding other factors that would be results of education than just the cognitive factors. I think we should investigate further this matter of character and personality development which were mentioned to see if these are actually the results of school education or if they are more related to the home.

The matter of interest in learning, whether that is generated by the school or comes from family background. The matter of interest in higher education, the same. I already mentioned cost. The matter of segregation I think should be investigated in more detail.

Incidentally, one of the big problems in public schools, particularly in the cities today, is the matter of resegregation which is a problem that must be dealt with.

I think that it should be investigated whether the cognitive gains that were cited here today are somewhat the result of the focus of it on our program.

And we should find out what the other gains are to measure against that.

Overall I think the studies have rendered a service in bringing up many questions. I think the questions are still unanswered, and I look for more research along these lines, and I hope these researchers who reported here today can carry forth their studies in order that the results in the final



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analysis can improve education for all boys and girls.

Thank you.

MR. WENK: I would like to ask the last speaker to take the podium. Dr. Page, as you recall from this morning, has a long affiliation with the longitudinal studies program of the Center in his capacity as the chairman of our External Advisory.

DR. PAGE: Thank you very much, Vic.

I've been accused of being a clean-up batter here, and I deny any such allegation. I won't attempt to summarize the perspectives that we have brought together in this very, very interesting time.

Let me pass out to the people up here a paper which I will be referring to, a memo which I will just be referring to later in this pre-presentation. I'm the last one before the break.

This meeting today, when properly understood -- Oh, I'd better prepare this other. Is there somebody here who can -- in that order: 1, 2, 3. I won't call on it quite yet.

(Transparencies are handed to a technician.)

I'm going to give you something to look at. I haven't seen any slides for a while.

This meeting today, when properly understood, should



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be a cause of considerable celebration and congratulations for a number of groups and agencies, for the National Center for Education Statistics who brought us together; the NCES has spearheaded "High School and Beyond," and its predecessor, "The National Longitudinal Studies," making us spectacularly ahead of any former educational data. For the National Opinion Research Center of Chicago for winning the contract, for following the NCES guidelines and solving a myriad of problems along the way in bringing these data to all of us. For Congress and the Executive Branch for their solid and bi-partisan support for this enterprise.

Incidentally, Checker, the NLS began under a Republican administration.

For legislators at all levels and their staff who will now have an unprecedented and inexhaustible mine of ready information for answering questions, questions that are themselves still undreamed of. For Federal and State and local decisionmakers who have here the most informative, richest, most available data set of its kind ever produced to guide their decisions in any country.

For all the students of education whose legions are vast, psychologists, sociologists, economists, religious educators, civil rights advocates, conservatives and liberals,

left and right, philosophers and soldiers and priests, businessmen and welfarists and tax cutters, broadcasters and news people, in short, for our vast, unlimited American special interest groups that have a stake in the efficiency and the effectiveness of the schools, welcome to the data feast.

Personally, I take great pleasure in helping to unwrap this magnificent gift to the U. S. and its people. As a former high school teacher, counselor, Dean of Education, and as a psychologist and researcher, I can identify with many people in this room, and as one who has been lucky to play a tiny, tiny role in the encouragement and development of "High School and Beyond," I'm happy for all of us.

Whether liberal or conservative, we can rejoice in this inherently nonpolitical data-gathering enterprise in the most cost-effective use of Federal funds that I know anything about in my contacts with Government.

What is this gift, and why is it so special? Until about ten years ago there had been nothing like it. Project "Talent" had been started in '60, and for the first time created a vast data set of educational and career information, but the "Talent" data were never accessible to the general researcher. And later in the sixties "The quality of Educational Opportunities" study gathered a very impressive data set,



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but one which was virtually out of reach for the usual person with questions to ask, whether researcher or policymaker.

The only real predecessor of "High School and Beyond" was the earlier 1972 project of the National Center for Educational Statistics, the NLS, the National Longitudinal Study. This study, too, had the great advantage of being conducted by fine contractors, first the Educational Testing Service with Tom Hilton who is in this room, then the Research Triangle Institute with Jay Davis who is also here, and now the NORC, led by James Coleman and Carol Stocking and Fran Calloway, and their many, many talented people have done a superb job in countless ways, partly following their own well-established methods at NORC, and Shirley also, learning much from their excellent predecessors under the earlier NCES contract.

Again, what is the nature of "High School and Beyond?" Is it a series of reports by the contractors? Not at all. As Coleman pointed out earlier, the nature of HSB is first and foremost in the data set itself, in its documentation and dispersion to all these policymakers, professional educators, scholars and curious citizens who wish to explore it.

The firm intentions that these data belong to all those who wish to pay the nominal price for the tapes and



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belong to all of these equally. HSB is, to use one analogy, a vast public library of priceless new books about education. NORC is not the principal scholar. NORC does not even possess a key to the stacks which is not available to any of us. NORC is the librarian along with NCES.

It's NORC's job, executed very well indeed, to collect the information, clean it up and organize it, put it properly on the shelf and describe to the citizens just what is there, where it is and how it can be retrieved. But HSB belongs to all of us.

If there is one large lament, then, in today's celebration, it is in our timing. The data were supposed to be out months ago and in the hands of all the potential users. It was not intended by any of us that there would be first a large and controversial interpretation of the data before all had had a chance to explore the data equally. This is too bad. And it is no wonder that some cynicism has been expressed about it.

In Chicago, for example, it is quoted, "Keeping it boxed up until they've had a chance to milk it." I know that's not your (Laughter.)

As a sociologist, this is understandable resentment, but it is wrong on two counts. First, NORC hoped to have the

data out long before now in time, and commitments to speak on these questions had been made before the delays developed. The delays were not caused by academic competitiveness, then, but by other factors altogether. Indeed, though, all of us could agree that such delays should be avoided.

The second point where the criticism is wrong is in the belief that HSB data can be milked. HSB won't be milked by a thousand researchers in 20 years. If we think of the HSB data as providing a kind of Oklahoma land rush or California gold rush, the image breaks down badly. In the first place, nobody stakes out a claim here, except by profundity and persuasiveness of analysis. If it is a land rush, then it is a very peculiar one because the second claimant has as much right as the first and the third as much right as either and so on.

But in the meantime, taking nothing from the reports today, it is something of a misfortune that scholars have had such a running start upon the free data analysis and on publicity from the data analysis before the rest of the users with equal claim to the data have had a chance to get at the tapes. But we have them now and I think it will be a rich harvest indeed.

Again, I think that all of us from the National Center, from NORC, all kinds of communities and all the insti-



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tutions and agencies interested in the data want to guarantee that this appearance of unfairness, which is not a fair appearance, will not happen again.

Now, what are these reports? Are they the reports about the current state of American public and private schooling? Not at all. As Jim pointed out earlier, and as has been evident in what I've said, they happen to be the first and they are, in my opinion, excellent in many ways.

One of the excellent features is that they reveal in this data set--but I have also some points to make about the analysis, and I would expect Jim Coleman to make similar points about my analysis. And I know that, as scholars, we'll debate it on the merits.

Let's consider a specific sort of assumption which underlies much of the analysis today and has a great deal to do with the nature of the conclusions which favor the religious and other private schools.

There is no doubt that the output of such schools is a better student product. Gabler, in his studies, "with higher test scores in school achievement, with a brighter propect of further education and vocational success. It is also true that the descriptions of private schools are much closer to what most of us regard as appropriate, safer, more



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orderly, fairer, more harmonious, harder-working." Yes, say the champions of the public schools, but they don't work with the raw materials we have to cope with, the retarded, the unstable, the criminal, the abused. There is a social-class background difference definitely favoring the religious and private school.

Granted, say the researchers. But we'll control the background, and after the background is controlled for, then we'll measure the net difference as to the output. The technique to use for such controls is usually regressive equations, but sometimes it can be in the frequency form.

Now it is necessary to get a bit technical. The researchers in the meeting will probably be delighted to have more technical stuff after all this, but for the more general and policy-centered audience and the press, the technical explanation may be an occasion for few, or what someone has called the MEGO episode, my eyes glaze over.

But it is absolutely necessary to understand something about this. Let's consider the first slide, if you would, please.

The evaluation was based on achievements, statistical control-- this is a quote from the NORC report -- family background is introduced in order to control on those background

characteristics that are most related to achievement. The achievement differences between the private sector and the public sector are reduced, but there remain differences. Now, that is the basic position which underlies all the data that we have looked at favoring the private and Catholic schools.

Now, let's just -- And these are not real numbers. These are just token numbers to show you the general idea here. Student achievement is to the right. The measured background is at the upper left. Private school and public school-private school difference is at the bottom. And let's just have some token, three variable analyses here where we have a 70 and a 35 and a 32 there. What it produces is net effects which are important and show that private school having a path to the student achievement which is independent of the measured backgroun.

Now, this is the kind of analysis that is done. It's a perfectly respectable analysis. It's the conventional analysis, if you like. But in my view it is not adequate analysis and not that which needs to be done if we're going to understand these data.

Let me show you -- keeping this in mind -- that we begin with just these correlations, and we develop our model from -- well, the model then is used to test whether there is



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a residual effect of the private school after you can, quote, "control for measured background."

Let me see the next one now.

Now, let us suppose that there is -- I show the measured variables all in squares and the true background, which is an unmeasured variable I show in a circle. Now, you might say, how do we do research with unmeasured variables, and this gets us into the path analysis. The scholarship of path analysis is somewhat more advanced level than the usual. But if we ask if there is a true background which is more powerful and in this model is the only cause of the relationships we see among the measured variables, that is to say the true background has, yes, caused the measured background. The measured background is a sample of the true background.

Now we have the student achievement which is, again, the effect of the true background, and we have the choice of private school which is, again, the effect of the true background. Now, if we begin by saying that the path from the true background to the student achievement is .88 -- just grant me that for a moment -- if you think that is a high estimate, then you haven't looked at the data on identical twins. One way to infer the true background influence is to look at identical twins. I'm happy to say that "High School and Beyond"



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has some identical twins and some fraternal twins and some other siblings, and that such data are going to be brought in to analysis as soon as it's all brought together.

But right now we do know that very often the correlations between identical twins are apt to be in the 80 and 90 range, and if we take the square root of that, we could actually say that the path of the true background is even higher.

Now, if we then look at the correlations between the measured background and the student achievement of 70 and that's higher than anything the NORC report showed us, if we say that it's a 70, then that gives us a path between the true background and the measured background of 80. And stepping back again, looking at the measured background and its relationship, correlation to the private school being 32, we infer a path from the true background of the selection of the private school as 60 and we are able, by taking those two external paths, to produce the correlation between the private school and the student achievement.

Now what I am saying here, and I apologize for the numbers which are fictitious in the first place, but are only intended to illustrate an important principle, and that is that this is a perfectly defensible model. It is not impossible

to test, particularly when we bring in twins and siblings for the true background. And I will be extremely interested in seeing what kinds of results come out.

The point is that if you look at the mirror effects there which we have drawn between measured background, private school and student achievement, we see that those are the very same correlations with which we began this other analysis which produced the net effect which Coleman and Greeley and others have been pointing out through the day.

Now, I have one other technical comment to make, and that has to do with the segregation index. I also react negatively, as the Superintendent did, in commenting that this is not what most people mean by segregation. And I have developed an index myself.

Would you please put that next one up?

Here I began with data that are from the NORC report. I began with what you will find on their Page 44, if you happen to have their Table 44, which gives the SIJ index of contact. Now, let me tell you what this is. The index of contact, for instance, SBW, is the following: it is the proportion of average blacks with schoolmates who are white and then SWB is the proportion of average whites with school-makes who are black. Now, I would say to use that comes very



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close to what we mean when we talk about integration. That is this is the individual experience of the student sitting in a classroom, how many of other race is he in contact with. Now, it's perfectly -- I know what the NORC team did in their segregation index. I am simply saying that that -- Well, you can study what they did. I am arguing that this is a fairer analysis of what we mean by integration, and we have the following results.

The index of integration for the public schools is the proportion of whites in the public schools times their contact with blacks which is .07 plus the proportion of blacks in public schools times their contact with blacks which is 38, and it comes out one zero five.

Now, the index of integration for private schools comes out by the same kind of analysis .055. In other words, in this first cut the public schools are about twice as integrated as the black schools in terms of the experience of the average student.

Now if we look to standardize this, because I am very aware of Jim's point about it's nice to have something that ranges between zero and one, if we take the properties in all schools, if we standardize this for the proportions in all schools, then we get that the public standardized is .536,



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and the index of integration for the private schools is .281, and of course, again, this is about twice as integrated in the public schools. I am not making a case, I hasten to say, that this should be a terribly high priority item in our considerations. I think that there are other things which everybody in the country would consider more important, and I'm not taking a position on whether it's desirable to have tuition tax credits or anything like that. I am simply trying to amend what seems to be an error in the understanding in the record on this point.

Now, what do I think? Well, let me step down from the role of research critic for a moment, and there are so many good things about this report of NORC that I won't even bother mentioning them, except to say that they are very impressive reports, and I've been using them as a model in my research classes, showing people how to pursue these questions and how to dig out the hidden meaning in the data.

But let me roll back from the role of research critic and respond to the teacher and parent and educational psychologist, and it happens to be relevant to anything, with a faith that's very close to the Catholic, if not exactly Catholic. I'm an Anglo Catholic. What matters in educational



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achievement? First we have intelligence. A number of people have made this point. If you want to explain the variance in achievement, the first place to look for it is in the individual variations in aptitude, and this individual variation is spectacular.

Once you do that, and that's been an effort to control for that very point that's led to a lot of this analysis, then what is the second major thing that seems to contribute to achievement? It's time spent on learning.

Now, it must be obvious that if we have a safer, calmer, more orderly and disciplined environment, and if we insist on much more homework and grade it, yes, I believe that these things matter. It should have an effect. If they don't, then I think we should go back to ground zero in educational psychology.

But, note that these good effects would not be caused by the type of school exactly that has been pointed out by Checker and by various other people, but by the greater discipline, order, safety, attention, environment, homework and so on. That is to say to the extent that we can get the other characteristics which we admire on a comparative mean average basis, then to that extent the public schools can do it. And we could go on with many suggestions about this

But I'm saying that it's not something intrinsically religious, if you like, necessarily, nor is it something intrinsic to the schools in general. If you were picking one, you'd certainly pick on the individual basis of the school and not on whether it was private or public.

But I'm eager to do some more effective, and, to my view, more appropriate analysis on certain points here and to see the analyses of other people, and I guess that there will be some type of advantage in these schools as we see them now, and I would guess that some will turn out to be a residual, but I do believe that it will be considerably less than the effects that were shown in substantive terms from the present analysis.

I'm certainly eager to do some of this analysis myself and to see that of others. Once again, I congratulate the NCES on this extraordinary contribution to our educational data. We'll benefit enormously from it, and we can never exhaust it. Welcome to the data feast. The meeting today might be just the beginning.

MR. WENK: Thank you very much, Dr. Page and all the other panelists who have participated to tnis point.

Jim, would you like to take some time to reply to some of these comments?

DR. COLEMAN: I won't take very long to respond. I certainly appreciate the very extensive and extended examination of the public and private school report that people who have made comments on the report have given.

I will not make very many comments, but I would like to try to correct a few misconceptions.

First of all, I should say that I am concerned, not with the ten percent of the persons who are attending private schools, but with the 90 percent of the persons who are attending the public schools, certainly, as well as that ten percent. I think we should all be concerned with all of the students in American education. And I think that if this report is put to the kind of use that it should be that a major portion of that use would have nothing to do with movement of students between public and private schools, but would have to do with the question of what we do differently in the public schools than we do today.

I should say that that's not an idle concern. American schools are producing low achievement, American schools as a whole. For example, in international education, in international comparison with other western countries, American education, first in mathematics and then in other subjects, was lowest of all the countries. It's also the case

that long since that examination was carried out there has been a continued decline, a decline in achievement in American education at the high school level.

I think many people have recognized now that the American high school is a problem of serious concern, and I hope that this report and Greeley's report do focus some attention on the American high school so that that concern can be put to good use.

Now, there are really only two major points that I would like to respond to. One has to do with questions of segregation, the segregation index that was used. I think there has been some misunderstanding about that. I did not intend, and I thought we made clear in our report that there was only one aspect of segregation in education, but rather -- when one looks at public and private schools -- but rather there are two aspects.

One aspect is the relative numbers of blacks, whites, Hispanics in public schools and private schools, and it's very clear that the proportion of blacks in Catholic schools is only about half that in the public schools. And in the other private schools it's only about a quarter of that in the public schools. So that that has to be kept in mind at all times when one is looking at the degree of segregation within any of these

sectors. That's why I asked to perform this mental experiment of what would happen if all of the persons in private schools were back into the public schools, because what we did then is find out the joint impact of those two things. The joint impact of those two things, whether one looks at the contact, the measures of contact, or the measures that Ellis Page starts with, or the measures of segregation which were the measures that we finally used, the ultimate impact of those two things which counterbalance each other with respect to blacks is that they do just balance each other. That is there are fewer blacks in private schools, and there is less segregation within the private schools, and those two things do counterbalance each other quite precisely.

With respect to Hispanics the issue is not so important, because there are within the private sector as a whole almost the same proportion of Hispanics as there are in public schools.

Now, with regard to another point that Ellis Page made at the very end in terms of different segregation index, I think that's a very interesting point, Ellis, and I would like very much to examine that. It seems to me to be an interesting possibility.

DR. PAGE: I was sorry to spring it on you so late

but I just worked it out this weekend.

DR. COLEMAN: Yes. I think it's an interesting possibility. I don't think it changes in any way the final conclusion, because the conclusion that I drew is based on -- I mean, one can find the same conclusion from the measures of contact with which you begin, namely that the degree of segregation without the private schools or the degree of contact without the private schools for blacks with whites and whites with blacks, it's really just the same as it is in the system with private schools, if you look at Page 44, which you directed our attention to a few minutes ago.

So, now, the other point has to do with cognitive skills. There are some other consequences for other outcomes of education such as things like self-esteem, things like state control which I didn't mention which are in the report which suggest that in the case of those two, the results are just suggestive, but they suggest that in the other private schools, as distinct from both the Catholic schools and the public schools, there is an increase over time in the degree to which people feel they're in control of their own fate and the degree to which students have a high self-esteem. So that suggests that there is a difference between the other private schools in that case, on the one hand, and the public and

Catholic schools on the other hand, the matter is just significant.

Now, with regard to the question on cognitive skills, nearly all of the examinations, all of the comments that has been made have suggested that the data don't show through the kind of regression analysis which I said was one third or one of the three kinds of analysis that was carried out, don't show the Catholic or other private schools bring about higher achievement.

I think it's important that further analyses be carried out so that this matter can be laid to rest one way or the other, but no one has mentioned, except both Checker Finn and Diane Ravitch, in mentioning differences between the public and private schools, no one has mentioned some other things that we show, and that is that if there is more homework in the school, if there are fewer classes cut in the schools, if there are fewer absences, if the educational environment in the school on the part of other students in the school is one which has low cutting of classes, low absence, few student fights, and a little bit, a small amount or absence of students threatening teachers, if those things are true, then within the public sector, or within either of the private sectors, there is higher achievement. In other words, for those kinds

of schools there is higher achievement. Now, no one has mentioned that result, and yet it does have relevance for the first result, because on all of those characteristics it's true that the public school, that the Catholic schools and the other private schools have more homework, fewer classes cut, fewer absences, and educational environments that are more orderly in the ways that I mentioned.

So that I think those results are certainly very directly relevant to the first result, the question of whether there is more or less cognitive achievement in Catholic and other private schools compared to public schools. They're more important, however, for another issue, and that is the issue of what might be done in the public schools.

Donald Erickson mentioned a study by Rutter which showed on the basis -- or which concluded on the basis of 12 analyses of data in 12 schools that there are certain things about the educational climate that do make a difference in educational outcomes. Those results are very analogous and very comparable to what we found. As a matter of fact, some of the measures that we included in our study were based on measures which had been found to be effective by Rutter.

So it suggests that-- I mean there is a cumulative research or research beginning to accumulate, suggesting that

there are some characteristics of schools which school policy can do something about and do make a difference in achievement.

Now, I would just like to finish with one point. I do agree with Dr. Ayars that the public schools are subject to many more constraints. I think one of the changes, as he suggested, over the last 20 years in American education has been that they are subject to more constraints than before. Schools are subject to social inspection of the sort that wasn't true before. They are going to continue to be subject to social inspection, social inspection not just by people carrying out analyses of data like this, but by all segments of the community; and what we must learn to do is how to carry out good education in orderly environments given that schools are subject to some of the kinds of constraints that they were not subject to some time in the past.

Thank you.

MR. WENK: Dr. Greeley has asked me for an opportunity to reply with a few comments, and we'll break after that and resume in 15 minutes after he's finished.

DR. GREELEY: First of all, to respond to my colleague from the Southwest, however, I don't quite see the point of his comment on the Cubans. For example, with entirely Mexican-American, the Catholic school effect would be much

bigger. The difference in standardized points between public-school Cubans and Catholic-school Cubans is 29, 29 points. The difference between public-school Mexicans and Catholic-school Mexicans is 74 points. So if you exclude the Cubans from the sample on the grounds that they are recent immigrants and they're upper middle class, then you would get a much stronger Mexican-American finding than we do.

The Puerto Rican difference is 22 points which seems to suggest that the Catholic schools, if there is a Catholic-school effect, among Hispanics have their most notable effects on the Mexican-Americans and much smaller effects on the Cubans and the Puerto Ricans.

So I don't really understand how his observation is a pertinent criticism of what I wrote.

I had a certain sense of maybe Lewis Carroll's Wonderland and maybe in Franz Kafka's "Castle." The principal finding of my research, that before which all others pale into insignificance, is that the effect of Catholic schools on minority students, indeed on all students, is not on those who are at the upper end of the social, the educational or the aspirational hierarchs. But the principal effect of Catholic schools is on those young people who come from families where the education isn't as high, who are in the general track

rather than the academic track, and whose parents have less aspiration for them to go to college. The principal Catholic-school effect, in other words, is an interaction. It's at the lower end of all of these three hierarchies, precisely the opposite of what anyone would have expected.

Now, it seems to me -- I may be naive in this -- that this finding -- and let's just look at the social class -- that there is an interaction between Catholic schools and social class. That is to say the Catholic schools seem to have their specific and special success in training the children that come from less educated families.

Now, I think that's astonishing. I would not have been prepared to believe it myself. As I said this morning, I don't think most Catholic educators would be prepared to admit it. And yet I would defy anyone to massage these data for the next half century and basically change that finding, and yet, that finding, clearly stated in the report, was ignored, in the re-analysis that was done by the sponsoring agency. But also it was ignored -- and not a single one of the commentators referred to it. None of the press people asked about it. And I wonder if it's me. I mean, if I'm not saying it clearly enough, or whether I've gone crazy or what. But even Dr. Ellis seems to have missed that point, that the

most interesting thing is that it's the people at the lower end of the hierarchies who had the most payoff in the Catholic schools.

Now, I think that if I were a public educator, while I would be skeptical and perhaps affronted by that sort of finding, I would also be fascinated by it and would want to sneak over, if nothing else, to look at the Catholic schools and see how they did it. And I don't think they know how they do it, and that's why I say that if this particular finding is not the subject of further research, then one has to raise questions about why it isn't.

A secondary little squibble on the bottom of this is that everybody has talked, virtually everybody, about the disciplinary constraints of the Catholic schools. What impressed me, and maybe it's me, is that far more important than the disciplinary factor as described by the students, is the quality-of-instruction factor that's described by the students that seems to correlate with achievement. Now why do the kids who go to Catholic schools rate the instructors better? They're not better trained. They're poorer trained. They don't get more money; they get paid less. They teach larger classes, and the turnover is larger. And still the students rate them as better.

Well, again, I would at least be tempted, if I were a public educator, to find where the Catholic schools buy their mirrors. But this finding about the quality of instruction as raised by the children, it is a powerful corollary of achievement and much higher in the Catholic schools, and I suspect there is an interaction in the opposite direction.

This one seems to have been ignored in favor of the stereotype, which is indeed partly true -- if all stereotypes are partly true -- about discipline. And so I am baffled why these two things which seem so terribly important to me have fascinated no one else and have stirred up reactions by no one else.

I would submit, gentlepersons, subject to review, that if there was some special experimental group of public schools in the country, in which parents could make choices, and for which the parents would be charged some fee, and the same kind of findings were reported for them, we would not have vigorous prepublication attacks; we would not have vagabond scholars wandering around handing out press releases; we would not have people closeted with reporters during all free periods; we would have what a couple of the speakers called for, general celebration, because we finally have found a school technique and a method that works, especially with the

poor people. And there would be great celebration, great congratulations to the schools who have done such, and a stampede of scholars to find out how. And when I see none of these things -- it may be my simple West Side Irish disposition -- but I've got to say "How come?".

MR. WENK: We will resume at 3:15.

(A break was taken.)

MR. WENK: The rest of the afternoon will be devoted to questions from the audience to either the speakers or panelists or more than one panelist. The protocol we would like to follow is as follows: we have some radio microphones, three of them. Will the people who have the microphones in the aisles please put your hands up so everyone can locate you?

If people would raise their hands and be recognized by the chair, we'll have the microphones come to you. At that point we'd like you to state your name, your affiliation, to whom you are addressing the question -- I emphasize questions, as opposed to statements at this point. Can we proceed on that basis, then?

The papers that we discussed earlier this morning, particularly the NCES reviews which were shared with the authors and the panelists, are available at the registration desk. You can pick them up as you leave.

May we have the first question?

SR. THIBODEAUX: Sister Mary Roger Thibodeaux. from the National Office of Black Catholics here. This is for Dr. Coleman.

In your premises for the aspects, premises that tend to decrease the effectiveness of the Catholic schools, I think your second one was on the religious line, and I guess you're basing that on what I feel is erroneous, 91 percent Catholic in the Catholic schools, which I think Dr. Greeley corrected to some degree also, but I would like that clarified. What is that based on, if you could come up with that? And then the No. 6, whereby you spoke as another premise that would decrease effectiveness, and that had to do with unhealthfully competitive, as you put it. If you could again detail that for me. What do you mean?

DR. COLEMAN: With regard to the first of the two points you made, matters of proportion of Catholic schools, proportion of students in Catholic schools that are Catholic, I want to make very clear that this is not the proportion of Catholics who are in Catholic schools, but the proportion of students in Catholic schools who themselves are Catholic. According to our estimate, that proportion is 90.9, or that percentage is 90.9 percent. In other words, all the Catholic

schools throughout the country, that ten percent of the students who are in those schools are not Catholics. Now, our estimates may be wrong by some amount, but I think it's not wrong by very much according to the sampling that was done. That's basically what it is. It's an estimate, because we have only a sample of the Catholic schools throughout the country.

With regard to the second point having to do with the premise that private schools, including Catholic schools, are unhealthfully competitive, and therefore provide a poor environment for affective development, I didn't say anything about evidence with regard to that. We don't have very much measures with regard to affective development. We do have two measures that I mentioned very briefly in my second comments, and that is a measure of self-esteem, that is how good the student feels about himself or herself, and a measure of what we call fate control, that is the degree to which the student feels in control of that student's own destiny or fate.

Now, we found that the levels of those in all of the schools were about the same at the sophomore level, that is in the public, Catholic and other private, and were about the same in the levels of self-esteem and of fate control, were about the same in all three sets of schools. We found among seniors that it had increased in all of the schools to some degree, but it

increased more in the other private schools than any of the public schools or the Catholic schools.

So there's no real evidence, there's no evidence to support that premise. There's no evidence as far as I can see to support, from our data, to support the premise that I mentioned at the outset that private schools, Catholic or otherwise, are excessively and unhealthfully competitive.

MR. WENK: Thank you. Is there any other questions?

MR. MORRIS: Lorenzo Morris, Institute for the Study of Educational Policy.

I have several questions, but I'll settle on one. I'd like to know, related to income distribution, the percentage of minorities, particularly black, in the income categories above No. 2, or above $12,000 a year, first.

And, second, to know the extent to which you controlled or looked at income distributions within regions, such as looking at Catholic schools, black income distributions in Louisiana as a separate category, since that is the State I'm in. In other words, how is income distribution measured and to what extent do blacks fall in separate categories? I just got the report recently, and I was unable to find that in the report.

DR. COLEMAN: Well, we're not able to say very much

about income distributions in specific regions of the country. That is too finely broken down. Because the sample is not terribly large for such a purpose. And I think I can't respond to your question about the actual percentage at this point. What I'll be happy to do is afterwards I'll possibly be able to find a response to your first question having to do with the proportion of blacks that were above $12,000 in income according to our data.

MR. MORRIS: Do you have a general idea?

DR. GREELEY: I have some idea.

DR. COLEMAN: Go ahead.

DR. GREELEY: A third -- Now, mind you, these are the parents of people in high school, so they may not necessarily be typical of either older or younger members of any population. But my minority, poor minority in the analysis was people under $12,000 a year. That was in the lower third of the income bracket for the population, national population. And it got to be more than that, about half, of the blacks and Hispanics. About half under 12.

MR. WENK: Is there another question?

SR. THIBODEAUX: My name is the same.

Dr. Ayars, when you say parochial schools are selective and exclusive, and that you know for a fact that we

do send out our problems, are you speaking only from Norfolk?

DR. AYARS: No. I've been Superintendent of Schools in four different communities, and I also am acquainted with other communities through my colleagues.

MR. WENK: I believe there is a question. (Points.)

MR. POWELL: My name is Leonard Powell. I'm from the New York State Education Department, and I'd like to direct my question to either Dr. Coleman or Dr. Greeley.

Was the nature of the elementary school education of the subjects taken into consideration, that is private or Catholic versus public, and if so, could that variable have a measurable impact?

DR. GREELEY: No, it was not. It wasn't because we didn't want to ask it, but because the question didn't make final clearance. It may the next time. If there is a next time, it may be asked the next time, but presently we can't answer that. Obviously, in terms of what I've done, it would be very helpful to know that.

MR. FRANKEL: Steven Frankel, Montgomery County Public Schools. Two questions for Dr. Coleman.

How can we say that families of comparable low income are indeed comparable for statistical purposes when the separate children in private schools are spending a large share

of their discretionary income on their children's education? What would the equivalent of that be for parents with kids in the public schools? That's the first question.

The second is: in regard to dropouts causing the public school achievement data to be artificially high, what about transfers out of the private schools into public schools? Were these treated in the data as dropouts also?

DR. COLEMAN: To answer your second question first: insofar as they were not replaced by other persons who were coming in at the same level, they are treated as dropouts. Now, our estimate of dropouts, both to public and private, is almost certainly high. We got that estimate not by following the same persons over time, but simply by comparing the sizes of the sophomore and senior cohorts, and there are some other factors which could be responsible for artificially elevating those, but we believe that those estimates would be artificially elevated equally for public, Catholic and other private schools.

Now, could you repeat your first question?

MR. FRANKEL: First question was how can we say for statistical comparison purposes that low-income families are comparable when the ones with kids in the private schools have opted to spend a large share of their discretionary income on

their children's education as opposed to other parents who haven't made that choice? What would the comparison be? I just don't see them as being comparable at all.

DR. COLEMAN: Well, it's hard to say what a large share of the discretionary income is. In many inner city Catholic schools the tuition in those schools is not nearly as high, for the per-pupil expenditure in those schools, because they're partly supported by the parish, nor is it as high as the per-pupil expenditure in public schools or in other private schools, because the costs in general are lower. So that beyond that I really can't say very much about your question, and I think it's an interesting point, but I can't say very much about it.

MR. WENK: I'd just like to point out that one of the reasons we're having this seminar is for NCES to have some feedback about any future data collections, future analyses. If what you're suggesting is that the same sort of analysis be done both on the basis of disposable and discretionary income, that Marie, the Chairman, with suitable accounting for that kind of income, that would be a definite contribution if somebody would try to attempt that task.

The tapes are publicly available. You obviously need ancillary data to do that kind of a calculation.

Are there other questions? There's one way in the back. (Pointing.)

MR. PARKINS: My name is James Parkins. Johns Hopkins. I'd like to ask Dr. Coleman how does he want us to think of his findings, granted they're true, about Catholic and private schools being more effective? How does he want to use those as useful, social facts, on the basis of, quote, "tax credits"? Does he want us to think that those schools are, we ought to get more of and move to expand the private sector, not only in tripling the number of Catholic common schools, but special features that Dr. Greeley keeps emphasizing?

If so, I would like to counter with a more reasonable expectation for kinds of schools we get in the future, and that is something that looks more like a higher education system. It's already public and private. In the higher education system it's characterized by entrance examinations, segregated public system for the lower level achievers and the two-year colleges and the restricted access, mostly white, higher-level system for the privileged.

So do you want us to think of the private school as actually more effective than the alternative? And if so, why is it a better analogy than the one I just presented?

DR. COLEMAN: Well, I'm very glad, always very glad to hear from Jimmy Parkins. He's an old colleague of mine.

I think the analogy with the higher education system is well taken. I certainly would not argue -- I would not agree with the implication from what I think, the kind of implication I think you would draw that our higher education system does a poorer job, either for low achieving students in it or for high achieving students in it than our secondary system does. I don't think there is evidence to that effect.

But I think the analogy is well drawn. I would also agree with the implication of what several people on the panel said earlier, that it's very -- it's not at all clear what would happen to the private schools if there were some kind of Federal support of some sort like the tuition tax credits. They might become very different kinds of institutions than they are now.

So I think that anything other than very small increases in the population of students in the private schools, one couldn't make very much of a prediction at all as to what the outcome would be.

But I think, to go back to your original point, I think the analogy with the higher education system is one which ought to be considered and thought about. I think it's a useful

analogy.

MR. DOERR: I'm Edd Doerr. I'm editor of "Church and State" magazine. Two questions for Dr. Coleman.

One, although I have not had this report long enough to analyze it carefully, I seem to notice there is no mention in it of how much use is made of entrance examinations for nonpublic secondary schools which probably over half of them -- but it would be nice if we have some data.

And secondly, what effect upon high school admissions is the fact that a number of nonpublic elementary schools whose reading readiness tests to admit children at the first grade level, what effect does that have on selectivity on the secondary level.

My second question is, on Page XXVII of your report you refer to pumping some money to parents under either tuition tax credits or vouchers, and this would likely have a progressive effect. I see no mention here -- perhaps you could comment on it -- of the effect which such agents have had when they were enacted. In the early seventies tuition reimbursements were enacted in several northeastern states, and they resulted in tuition increases in nonpublic elementary and secondary schools to soak up as much as possible of this State money coming in. And I believe Dr. Erickson referred to a similar

effect as taking place quite recently in British Columbia, when they began the practice of pumping money into nonpublic schools to parents, and we've noticed the same effect in the last decade or two with tuition rises for private colleges to soak up increases in State aid to nonpublic colleges.

Why didn't you just deal with these topics in your report?

DR. COLEMAN: Well, I think that there is extensive statistical evidence of the sort that you describe. I think it would be extremely valuable to have that evidence reported in a paper, and I would look forward very much to receiving that.

I don't know that evidence, as you apparently do, so I think it would be extremely valuable for whatever debates are going to go on, if that evidence were brought together in some kind of publication and made available.

With respect to your question about progressive effect of such, of something like a voucher or something of that sort, the best example that I can think of is the B(?) grants that do exist that you alluded to as something which schools have used to increase, which universities and colleges have used to increase their tuition, but the B(?) grants have certainly been very valuable in making higher education available to a large number of students to whom it was not financially

not available before.

MR. DOERR: Could I add a sort of supplement to that? And that is why would we have any reason to believe that tuition tax credits or vouchers would not have the same effect in lower schools than this is having on the college level. The NCES studies on how much money is spent per year per student in public versus nonpublic universities shows that nonpublic universities are able to spend an average of 35 percent more per student per year than nonpublics, which gives them a tremendous competitive advantage in student-teacher ratios and all that.

This sort of stuff is available in NCES statistics. Why was not this dealt with in your report?

DR. COLEMAN: I'm sorry. You said that nonpublic higher education institutions were able to spend 35 percent more than nonpublic higher education students. I'm not--

MR. DOERR: Nonpublic colleges are spending 35 percent more dollars per student per year than public colleges, and this has held steady for over ten years, according to "The Digest of Ed Statistics" from NCES.

DR. COLEMAN: I'm sorry. We were not investigating higher education, but only secondary education at this point, and those would be of margiral relevance to our concern.

MR. WENK: Was there a part of that question that I heard at the beginning of your introduction as to the use of entrance exams in private schools?

(No response.)

MR. WENK: May we have another question?

MR. SIEGEL: Paul Siegel, Census Bureau. This is mostly for Jim Coleman, but the rest of you can listen too.

One small piece of your evidence of the excellence of private schools is a set of equations, one of which characterizes how public institutions translate student characteristics into test scores, the other which translates how a private institution can do the same job. And the analysis consists of taking the student characteristics which characterize the public school population and hypothetically asking how good a job would the private institution do on that population, by putting that through this equation that represents private schools. And then you compare how well the students would hypothetically do in private schools with how well they actually do.

My question is what kind of magic are those private schools, because if I take the actual characteristics of the private school students and put them through the institutions that they, in fact, go to, I get those students doing about a

tenth of a question better than they actually did. That is to say, if I take the means for students in private high schools, put them through the equation for private high school students, I get back estimated mean test scores which are about one tenth of a question better than the means now reported elsewhere in the chapter.

I'll grant you that it takes a typing error rate of about five percent to produce that. But assuming that's not what's going on, what is going on?

DR. COLEMAN: Well, it might be that you put it in -- you put those characteristics into the private school equation rather than the public school equation. We put all of that into -- we used the characteristics, we used the regression co-efficients in terms of -- we used the regression co-efficients from the public school equation, not from the private school equation.

MR. SIEGEL: That's not what you describe in the text.

DR. COLEMAN: Yes. That is what we did. And the text is in error if it says otherwise.

MS. (?): Dr. Coleman, I was most interested in the columns in your Tables at the far right, the high-performance public and your high-performance private. How are they similar

and how are they different? I notice in some instances they were very different, and yet they both had successful students, not that they produced successful students, but they had successful students.

DR. COLEMAN: Yes. They were selected on the basis of the success of their students. They were selected on the basis of the proportion of their students who were semi-finalists -- their seniors who were semi-finalists in the National Merit Scholarship Tests. They are characteristically very different kinds of schools. The private schools are small, homogeneous, not comprehensive in any sense. They are schools which characteristically do not have vocational programs. They do not have a cooperative education program. They have a very homogeneous student body.

The public schools are also very homogeneous or not as homeogeneous, but really quite homogeneous in family background. They can be large suburban schools. They're very large compared. They're larger than the average public school, as well as much larger than the high-performance private schools. They are large suburban, high-performing public schools with relatively homogeneous, students from relatively homogeneous family backgrounds. That, I guess, is the kind of quickest characterization I can give you. They really are very different

kinds of schools, however.

MS. KILGORE: Sally Kilgore with National Research Center. Just a question, and perhaps there may be some confusion. Mr. Siegel's question about the difference of private school students. If he put in private-school student characteristics into a private-school equation, he should have gotten not .10 greater, but the exact, same amount. That is to say that is what the regression equation is predicting. We're not expecting them to be different. In our particular thing we took public-school sophomores, that is a kind of national average student, and put them in a private school. So that's where we generated our differences which may be the confusion.

MR. SIEGEL: No. It's worse than that. That if your equations are more magical than you are willing to admit. I put the private-school student characteristics into the private-school equation, and improved the performance of the private-school students.

MS. KILGORE: Well, then, there has to be a rounding error.

MR. SIEGEL: Well, it's hard to tell rounding error from results in this particular report.

DR. COLEMAN: I think there's a question I think we'll have to talk about privately.

DR. FORBES: Roy Forbes, National Press Association, Progress in the Educational Sector.

Back in January when we released the national assessment of reading data, there were briefings, and they asked us if we had any private-public school performance data.

About the same time I received a letter from the Council for American Private Education asking about this same question. So we started putting some information together, not knowing that Jim Coleman and his group were planning to release a major report at this time.

Then when we realized by looking at the ARA announcement that he was planning a major presentation on these data, we essentially sat on our data until his data was going to be released, as we had a professional ethics problem on working. And so we were very quiet, because what we did was not as substantial in looking at some of the private schools as what Dr. Coleman did.

But, nevertheless, we do have some findings, and I would like to correct an impression which the audience may have formed. In looking at the raw data, the performance between public and private students at ages 9, 13 and 17, we did find a statistically significant difference in performance at all three of those age levels when looking at the national-

level data. When you look at some of our breakdowns by subgroups, for example, those students that attend schools that serve affluent communities, we did not find any significant differences. This goes along with what Greeley has been saying today.

We also looked at the data from a regional point of view, and we did not find any differences in the central part of the country and the eastern part of the country in some of the age groups.

We found major statistically significant differences, for example, for nine-year-olds in the southeastern part of the United States. So region tends to play a very large role when we compare public and private education in all the States.

We were intrigued with the data, and in discussing it with a few people, they said, "Well, what if the public schools were serving a population that was similar to that of the private schools?" So we did some adjustment which took into consideration all of the different -- we had not measured them by performance of students, by sex, by size and type of communities where the schools are found by the regions in the country, and we did an adjustment, and the data essentially suggests that all of those significant differences that we found in the real data disappear, although there tends to be

a trend toward, a slight trend toward the private schools over the public schools in performance, but from a statistical point of view those differences do disappear with a few exceptions. For example, the nine-year-olds in the Southeast and the 17-year-olds in the Northeast still show that they are performing better in the private schools. We got a total flip in the central part of the United States where it showed, with adjusted data, that the public schools in the central part would actually be performing significantly better than those that were attending private schools.

So our data tends to support the Coleman findings when you're just looking at the raw data. We have some disagreements when we look at the way in which we have adjusted our data. And I'm looking forward to an opportunity to be able to discuss the different ways that we have adjusted the data to see if we can provide additional information.

And it certainly is suggesting some of the things that Andrew Greeley has been saying that there is no difference in student performance for those students that go to school that serve affluent metropolitan areas, but there are some differences with the black students which are attending the private schools.

MR. WENK: Thank you for that comment. I'd like to

ask you something, if I may, Dr. Forbes. Is that data now publicly available for people here to utilize?

DR. FORBES: Yes. We have a small four-page report which describes what I have just said. Then we'll be releasing the report of these data, a part of, on the 28th of April when we'll be releasing the total reading assessment.

MR. WENK: I might point out that as part of the conduct of "High School and Beyond," although we can not do this on a national basis, certain States chose to augment our sample in State Representative fashion. That data will be analyzed by the individual states and presumably made available to others. So perhaps we can get a regional resolution and compare that to your information.

DR. GREELEY: Could I make a comment on Dr. Forbes' comment?

It has to do with this point about the less advantaged. And one way of stating it, say, in terms of the admissions tests which the Catholic secondary school may or may not have, it started like Groucho Marx's old comment that any club that would vote me in I wouldn't want to belong to.

If you have a child, and you send that child off to the Catholic high school, and the child scores in the upper two thirds of the class in taking the admissions test, then

purely in terms of academic outcome you might as well send that child to the public schools.

Now, you may choose the Catholic school for religious reasons, you may choose it for reasons of safety, you may choose it because you like the discipline better, but in terms of academic payoff it's only the people whose kids are in the lower third of the achievement tests that will get them in, but in the general track. They are the ones for whom there is an economic payoff in terms of money for achievement change in going to the Catholic schools. That's another way of making my point, that you've got to look at the lower end of all the hierarchies to find where something happens.

And high marks in the achievement, may as well go to the public schools. People who get high marks in the achievement test, they're going to do well in achievement tests and be success-- going to do well anyway. It's a smart kid.

MR. WENK: I think all of this is subject to whatever limitations exist with anybody testing.

Question back here?

MS. BERNSTEIN: Harriet Bernstein from "Education Times." I'd like to ask Dr. Coleman, in view of the knowledge gained about the difference between public and private schools what kind of recommendations you would make to a chief State

school officer of superintendent of schools for corrective policy changes to improve the performance of the public schools?

DR. COLEMAN: I think the major implication of our results, although we haven't carried out extensive analysis with regard to what it is about the Catholic and other private schools that makes the principal differences, we have carried out some analysis, and everything seems to accord with the kind of research results which have been accumulated over the past three or four years having to do with things which can be characterized in the climate of the schools, things having to do with the orderly character of the school and the behavior of the students. So that I think essentially the kind of thing that we have, the educational system has paid not enough attention to over the past -- in the society quite generally has paid not enough attention to over the past ten or 15 years in education is probably what has been in part responsible for the decline in educational achievement.

That's the results that we found and that Greeley found, some results which are not quite the same thing, but I think he can comment on that having to do with the quality of instruction.

Could you say something, Andrew?

DR. GREELEY: Well, I would want to know more about

what the people in the Catholic schools, the students, what makes them rate the quality of instruction so high. If I were a public school administrator and could find that out, then I would try to have the same things happen in my classes if I could.

MS. BERNSTEIN: Your report mentions something about the parents of the religious community and their sort of projecting a common-value position, but doesn't go on to describe that in any greater detail. In your view is that factor in the difference in the way students rate the quality of teaching?

DR. GREELEY: Yes. The path diagram does show the relationship between quality of teaching and quality of discipline and religious order ownership. One policy implication most people have missed is that maybe it would be a good thing to turn all the schools over in the country to the religious orders.

I'm not a member of a religious order, but I don't think they would, no. They don't have the personnel to go around.

FR. JUMINUCO: My name is Father Vincent Juminuco and I'm president of the Jesuit Secondary Educational Association.

I'm a Jesuit, and I say that unabashedly. I am a religious and we run many schools, not only here but around the world.

I was wondering if in connection with this finding in the Greeley study if perhaps in terms of generalizing that, and here I'd like to ask both Greeley and Coleman, for possible use more broadly whether or not the factor of more local control, or degree of local control as a variable, would in any way correlate with some of the positive results that seem to show up in Catholic and in private education.

There has been a lot of speculation on this recently. People like Scot Thompson at the NASSP have been writing about it very frequently. And I wondered if any of the data would correlate along those lines, because one of the real differences within Catholic education between parochial schools or diocesan schools on the one hand and those that are run by religious orders is greater local control by the religious orders.

DR. GREELEY: By the way, Father, thank you for asking me a question. It's nice to know there's some loyalty in the profession still.

Someone has suggested, a diocesan administrator has suggested that one of the reasons that the schools owned by the

diocese rather than by the religious orders don't do so well is that the diocesan school administrators are not so smart, that the religious-order people are smarter than the diocesan people doing schoolwork.

I'm not altogether sure that that would be the case, though some of them aren't very smart, God knows. I should say that everything I said this morning about not getting funds from the educational research funding concerns for our research applies in spades to the Catholic schools and Catholic churches, both of which are utterly uninterested in research and what we're doing, mostly because they're afraid of what might turn up.

I think that one of the most fascinating things that has happened in the Catholic school system since the Vatican Council has been the proliferation of the local school boards where more and more Catholic schools, particularly at the primary level, are run by school boards elected by the people in the parish. Some of those boards have power; some are a front for the pastor or the principal; some are somewhere in between.

It would be very interesting at some unimaginable stage of the game when there was lots of research done on these phenomena, it would be interesting to see what differenece local

control makes, very, very interesting to see how much of the freedom of the local principals from centralized administration, how much that affects the productivity of the school. The principle of subsidiarity which we were committed to in the Church before we became Marxists and Liberationists would suggest that it would make a contribution.

MR. WENK: Do we have another?

MS. CAMPBELL: Jean Campbell, American Federation of Teachers.

There is one issue that is pervading a lot of discussion which I am somewhat disturbed about, and it has to do with the notion that what happens within each of the two sectors is more important than the impact of what happens on one, and what might happen on another. And I'd like to say just a few things about that, if I might.

First of all, I think it must be said that most people in the public-school community welcome a data base that is rich and important, and if that proves to be the case with this data base, all well and good.

I think there are two basic policy questions or issues that it can be used for. The first was talked extensively about by Diane Ravitch, and that was what will be the agenda, or what should be the agenda, coming from what is valid in this

data base and what analyses emerge from it that should be done in the public schools. What is it that we can do about our discipline problems? What about assignments, homework assignments, things of that sort?

I think that, however, much of what Michael Rutter has said in terms of these things by way of a school-by-school analysis is somewhat more valuable in this regard than what I have seen so far from this analysis.

I think the second policy question, and everybody here knows it, is really to what degree is this particular analysis of this data base going to be used to support tuition tax credits?

And here I think the question of cross-sector influences really comes to the fore. I think that there are a number of questions that have been raised and issues that have been raised this afternoon that are critical of this analysis that go to the heart of what public schools are and which need to be said in relation to this particular policy question.

The first, and this was not dealt with, has to do with the fact that the public schools take all comers, and how can you compare achievement when the public schools are dealing with vocational students and general students and academic

students? How can you compare fairly those achievement levels with those school systems that are acknowledged to be two thirds college prep from everything I've seen?

Secondly, on the dropout question, I fail to understand how it's fair to adjust public-school results downward to accommodate dropouts and to make no similar kind of adjustment for the fact that there are so many students who never get selected in or dropped in to private schools. I simply -- And why not use the same kind of adjustment in terms of discipline factors as they apply to private schools?

Lastly, on the segregation issue, I think that this was dealt with very well by both Gail Thomas and Dave Breneman. I just don't see how you can argue that because more minorities believe the public sector should go into the private sector that somehow there's going to be more integration without taking a very careful look at what's going to be left in the public sector, particularly in areas and regions where we have high concentrations of minorities.

I just think that the whole index for looking at segregation ignores that. I don't see anything in the analysis that takes that into account. I don't think we can look at what would happen to the private schools in terms of gains for minorities without looking at what's left in the public

schools. And so to Checker, I guess I would say, that the differences within sectors, to me, are not more consequential than those between them, and I think that that's the hardest issue and it's at the heart of whether or not this particular analysis of these data should be taken seriously.

MR. WENK: I guess, Checker, would you like to acknowledge the comment or what would you like?

MR. FINN: I always acknowledge Jeannie Kemble's comments and most of the time I agree with them. I think I'm not going to speak to what the analysis does or does not include. I think that is appropriately referred to Messrs. Coleman and Greeley, who handle themselves quite well.

I think that the policy implications of these findings, if they prove to be validated with respect to the tuition-tax-credit issue, are mixed. I think they cut in several different directions at the same time. I think that it's going to be very interesting over the weeks ahead to watch people cutting in every direction, using such findings as they find useful for the incisions that they wish to make.

I do think, and I'm going to repeat the point, because I don't want it to go unrebutted, that the largest conclusion of this study, as I read it, is that public schools could usefully try to become more like private schools. They

can not become much more like private schools and no one would want them to become entirely like private schools. But I think there are reforms to be made within each sector, as well as policy decisions to be made between sectors. And I think that that would be a constructive way to spend a lot of time in the years ahead.

DR. GREELEY: I'd like to make a comment on tuition tax credit, too. By the way, I did not speak to it in my paper, and will not speak to it directly at all ever until the whole thing is settled, for a number of reasons that should perhaps be obvious.

But I must say candidly the way I look at the American political process, I doubt that anything that is said here today, even if it could be validated, one should excuse the expression by arrival from the archangel Raphael saying, "Yes, these are true findings." Nor is anything that's going to be writed up -- written up -- I went to Catholic schools -- anything that's going to be written up in the probably fragmentary accounts in various newspapers will sway a single vote in the United States Senate. I just don't think the Senators make their decisions based on what folks like us do. There is a possibility that the senior Senator of New York will argue from these reports for the position he supports.

I wouldn't want to deny it. But I think there are other Senators who will argue from other parts of the report, criticism of the report, to what they support, and that the results will be the typical American political process in which Senators will make their final decisions, in great part, on what benefits their constituents and what doesn't.

So I'm not one of those who feels that -- not being one of the jury who decides about these things -- because I think they're informative, they've useful, they're interesting, and it's nice to know, but I don't think they're going to affect what happens over on Capitol Hill. I'd be astonished and a little shook about the future of American democracy if Senators made their decisions on the basis of social science research. They might as well make them on the basis of meteorology.

MR. WENK: Dr. Thomas.

DR. THOMAS: I just want to respond briefly to a comment that Checker Finn made. I don't want to just let it go heedless that one of the things that can be learned from what we've heard is that public schools can become like the private schools. And that's like saying to me that the black colleges ought to look like white colleges, et cetera, et cetera, a very poor kind of, I think, analogy and logic, and it's very destructive, because even though we do have a lot to learn

as some of the descriptive analysis that Dr. Coleman and Dr. Greeley presented shows, we have a lot to learn from different kinds of schools. But we're talking about public schools having some very unique features in and of themselves.

And, secondly, the point has been made over and over again, we're talking about these schools dealing with a different group of students. I think that's very misleading and we ought to be very careful about that when we talk about schools being a model based upon the different types.

MR. WENK: Dr. Breneman.

DR. BRENEMAN: I just wanted to comment also on Checker's comments.

If the major message or major lesson from this report is that it would be desirable to make public schools as much like private schools as we can, I have some sympathy with what I think is involved in Checker's comment. I guess my question to him would be: is enacting a tuition tax credit a very good way to have that happen?

DR. FINN: There are possibly better ways, but tuition tax credits themselves do not have any direct effects on the behavior of public schools or on the policies that govern behavior within the public sector. I think that the ways in which the public sector might usefully try to emulate some of the more

educationally attractive features of the private sector can be done under current law, and most of them have nothing whatsoever to do with Federal law. They have to do with the way States and localities organize their public school systems, and the kinds of policies that govern them.

(Mr. Wenk points to another person in the audience.)

MR. DAVID FLORIO: Mr. David Florio. I represent American Educational Readers Association. There were a number of comments this afternoon about problems regarding support of research on private schools. We certainly would enourage all sorts of research on all sorts of schools in the Association.

One thing that concerns me about my friend Checker's comments about this, and someone who has written extensively about the evils of central interference in academic societies, I'm concerned, Checker, that you seem to be advocating affirmative action for research, one out of ten -- (laughter). I just want to see if you would clarify that.

DR. FINN: Actually, I'm advocating two things that are slightly out of character. One is affirmative action for research on nongovernmental education, yes. The other thing I'm advocating is, given the number of unanswered questions that appear to be unanswerable on the basis of the questions that were, in fact, administered in the 1980 wave of the "High School and Beyond" study, I think I'm actually advocating the asking of some more questions to students and teachers and principals when this is again administered in 1982, even though I know that that goes against the effort to get schools and students out from the burden of responding to unnecessary federal questions.

MR. WENK: Maybe they're necessary.

MS. PEARCE: Diana Pearce, Center for National Policy Review.

I think when most people think of a segregated school, they think of one that is all one race, or predominantly one race. They think of an integrated school as one that has in it proportions of students that are approximately that of the community in which it's located. And the question I have for Dr. Coleman, particularly, is whether or not he measured segregation in terms of the community. I think most people would think that a school that is five percent black in a

community that is, say, 85 percent minority, or 85 percent black, is not an integrated school, that that school, in fact, may be a haven for people fleeing integration in the public schools, as he himself has pointed out in earlier work he has done, and I think that if you look at schools within the community context, and I have done so in Chicago, as some people have done in some other places, Catholic schools in Chicago are more segregated than public schools, which is going some for Chicago, more segregated than any other major metropolitan area.

And I think if you examine the Catholic schools and the private schools within the community context, the larger metropolitan community locales, you would find them considerably more segregated. And I wonder if you have done that, rather than comparing simply the national school system that is five percent black and look at how many schools come close to representing or sprinkling the minority people across those schools evenly, rather look at how they compare to the community as a whole and how they compare to the public schools in the community, I think you can come up with a very different picture, private schools are more segregated.

DR. COLEMAN: Well, we did that. That is we looked at the racial composition of private schools and public schools

relative to the proportion of black and whites in the zip-code area.

MS. PEARCE: No, the community as a whole. Obviously the zip code represents the neighborhood. The community as a whole.

DR. COLEMAN: First you asked me not to go to the national level. Now you ask me to come back to the city level, and then I go down to the neighborhood level. So we did it both with regard to three-digit zip codes and we did it with regard to five-digit zip codes. And I'm not sure which we reported in the results, in the report, but you will find something in the report to that effect.

One thing that you have to remember is that a major, and probably the major avenue of white flight from school desegregation is not the private schools at all, but rather it's the suburban schools. You know that if you've done that kind of research, and I know that, and a lot of people know that. That's what leads to a high degree of segregation in the public sector. So that it's not accidental that there's a high degree of segregation in the public sector because of the fact that's a result of these factors that I just described: that is the use of the public schools -- not the private schools, the public schools -- as an escape from school desegregation.

DR. GREELEY: Forty-five percent of the students in Catholic schools in the City of Chicago, according to an article in the "Chicago Reporter," an interracial magazine, 45 percent of those students are black or Hispanic. Now, that's not a bad level of integration. To speak of that level of integration, 45-percent black and Hispanics, about half, to speak of that as integration is to speak absolute nonsense, in my judgment.

MS. PEARCE: -- the 45 percent distributed across the school.

DR. COLEMAN: Neither are the public schools.

DR. GREELEY: I understood you to be talking about community. Now you're back down in the local neighborhood, and I'm sorry. I don't see what the question is about, then.

MR. WENK: Just a point of information. I know you have an appendix to your segregation index. It does address the local area. I didn't find any calculations, but I do recall the three- to five-digit zip codes with the question of location of Catholic schools in urban versus suburban areas. Perhaps this is something that was coming or was in the report and I missed it.

DR. COLEMAN: It should be in the report and you missed it. Why don't you go on to the next question?

MR. MAHONEY: My name is James Mahoney. I work with the Catholic schools in the diocese of Patterson, New Jersey.

My question is to Dr. Greeley. Dealing with the three hierarchies of social class, is there a greater sense of self-esteem and self-affirmation in those higher groups for Catholic-school students than public-school students? That's the first question.

The second part is that if cognitive outcomes are the same for those who are upwardly mobile in Catholic high schools and public high schools, would your recommendation to Catholic policymakers who listen to research, which admittedly is a rather limited sample, would your recommendation to that group be to shift the resources of personnel and money in the Church from the suburbs back to the cities?

DR. GREELEY: Your first question, Jim, is a good one. I have no idea what the answer is. I'll have to see if I can find an answer to it. The second one, I don't think that the administrators of the Catholic Church have that kind of power. That is to say, how do you go about shifting the tuition that's paid in suburban high schools by the parents who send kids to those high schools, how do you shift that tuition to the inner city schools? I don't know. I think decentralization

in the Catholic school decisionmaking is so enormous that the Catholic Church, the Catholic schools don't have resources to move around from one part of the city to another.

And of course anybody who's looked at New York or Chicago or other big cities knows that anywhere from three to five to six million dollars a year is being assessed the affluent parishes to pay for what goes on in the inner city parishes. So that sort of redistribution goes on, but I can't see that tuition -- If there isn't a Catholic high school in Arlington Heights, the money that would have gone to that tuition will not go to a Catholic high school in Kenwood.

They should try to recruit as many more kids as they can, of course.

MR. HAMMOND: My name is Floyd Hammond from New York University.

I have some familiarity with prep schools, in the Northeast particularly. I've been looking at college-going rates and characteristics of colleges attended by prep-school graduates, and in attempting to explain, or at least understand the patterns of those attendance rates, which are exceptional--85 percent of the students going to private colleges, the highly-rated colleges and so forth, it struck me that there was one characteristic of these private secondary schools that was

of particular interest, and that was the proportion of secondary school counselors who were committed only to attaining entrance in colleges for their students and the time they devoted to that effort.

And one outcome that's clearly important for private-sector schools is the college-going rates and the nature of the colleges in which students gain admission.

And here it seemed to me at least to be one attribute of the secondary schools, either structural or organizational attitude that clearly could be seen to be related to that outcome. They put a lot of resources, a lot of time and effort into gaining admission.

I wondered to what degree you have currently, because I have not thoroughly read through the document, or do you anticipate doing related research which will attempt to identify what structural, procedural policy characteristics within secondary schools are, in fact, associated with outcomes including, not only achievement level, but also what kind of colleges these students attend.

DR. COLEMAN: We do have a little bit on that in the last part of our analysis.

One thing that I was reminded of when you first mentioned the amount of time and attention the counselors spent

in those elite private schools in getting their charges into the "right" colleges and so forth is that there is a complementary problem as well, and that is for students who are not going on to college, and there is an interesting difference between the public schools and the other private schools in that respect.

And that is -- Well, I can just state it very quickly. And that is that for those students who say that they're going on to a job next year, and there are students of that sort in each of the three sectors, the students in the public schools are more likely to have a job already than the students in either the Catholic schools or the other private schools.

DR. GREELEY: Our finding was that the difference between Catholic and public schools in college expectations was entirely a function of parental expectation and the young person's expectation in eighth grade. It's not a school effect. That is one effect that can certainly be attributed with considerable confidence to background and not to the school.

MR. WENK: Question over in the fifth row.

MR. BALDWIN: Frank Baldwin, Citizens for Educational Freedom.

I would like to address my question, I guess, to Mr. Coleman or Mr. Greeley, or for that matter anyone else on

the panel. We've heard a great deal of criticism about the reports from Mr. Greeley and Mr. Coleman today by various people, and I think much of the criticism has come from what one might term the education establishment.

It seems to me the proof is in the pudding. And I'd like to ask the gentlemen on the panel whether or not they feel that if, in fact, a tuition tax credit or similar proposal were passed either at the State or Federal level, whether in your opinion the parents, the people who are actually the ones that are affected, the parents and children who are affected by the education, would not in fact make greater choice -- or more of them would not make a choice to educate their children outside of the public educational system, and I think if that is indeed the case, then does that not say something for the validity of these reports?

DR. GREELEY: One can certainly say that the enrollment of black and Hispanic young people in the Catholic schools goes up substantially every year. That may say something about validity. I don't know. I guess there's been some fair amounts of criticism. I don't feel that the basic findings have really been notably threatened at all, and I would be very very surprised if after five years of massaging there will be much difference than what we have arrived at today. There will

be a lot of differences about interpretation and policy conclusions, but I don't think the findings of Jim and I, as reported, will be shaken, I mean astonishing.

DR. OLIVAS: Just for the record I'd like to note my dissatisfaction in being labeled a member of the educational establishment. I consider that damning with praise.

MR. WENK: Any other panelists care to comment?

DR. BRENEMAN: I don't have any idea what number, what percentage or what type of people would opt for a price change which is what a tuition tax credit is. There would be a price change. I think economic theory would suggest, along with the educational structure, there would be a certain number that will shift. And in fact my concern -- This is why I asked Checker the question I did which is: if we are agreed that there will still remain a substantial body of people in the public schools and if you keep skimming off -- and I know a lot of the discussion was devoted to proving there was a lot of skimming off -- if you keep pulling people out who care about education and you lower the price and more go out, I just worry about what forces for change will be left in the public schools to keep what will still be a very large school system on its toes. I think you have to keep a certain number of committed and concerned parents in those schools, or

whatever hope we have of getting it turned around and trying to go in some of the directions suggested here will be lost.

I just see this -- If you want to really go the market, let's go whole hog and go to the voucher system and give to everybody. Let's not go to this kind of half-baked, as I see it, worst of all worlds, the tuition tax credit, which simply is some sort of straddling between the true market effect and the great State monopoly that people worry about.

DR. COLEMAN: I'd like to say something in response to what Dave Breneman said. I think that basically we have gone to the market. The difference between the educational system in America now and that before the Second World War is that basically people can choose their schools by residence which they were not able to do before, if they had the money to do so.

That's only assumption that people who are able to do that, but what that does is that it helps to segregate the schools economically and racially. It has created a system which is not the kind of system that you described, namely one in which there is a cadre of interested parents in each school which is going to make the school different, but it has created a system which has all of the kinds of defects that you would attribute to a private-school system.

So it seems to me we have to not assume that we have the kind of common school, the American ideal, in the public-school system where there has been an enormous change between before the Second World War and today in the educational system, and we have to deal with that change in one way or another.

DR. FINN: This is an argument, or a debate, let's say, that Dave Breneman and I have had repeatedly over the last several years. I believe very strongly that reforms in public education are needed. I believe equally strongly that you do not achieve those reforms by attempting to contain involuntarily within the public sector people who would rather leave it, anymore than you achieve reforms in municipal hospital systems by denying Medicaid to people who want to go to a private hospital, or that you achieve reforms in public higher education by denying financial assistance to students who would rather go to a private institution.

I do not think you reform by closing and locking the door. I do not think you create reform by even pushing the door gently in the direction of being closed. I think that you create reform by having good ideas and having people in policymaking positions who wish to carry them out.

MR. DOERR: Edd Doerr, of "Church and State Magazine" again. Question for Dr. Coleman and Mr. Finn in his capacity

as assistant to Senator Moynihan.

I gather that Professor Coleman is sort of in favor of either vouchers or tax credits, and of course we know that Mr. Moyniham is. If such legislation were to be enacted, do you think it would be proper that the legislation would require the elimination of all forms of discrimination in admissions, faculty hiring, curriculum design and religious activities which are currently forbidden in public schools?

MR. WENK: Who are you directing your question to?

MR. DOERR: Both to Mr. Coleman and Mr. Finn.

MR. WENK: Dr. Coleman.

DR. COLEMAN: What is the distinction between a public and a private school in that case?

MR. DOERR: My question was that public schools are forbidden to practice virtually any form of discrimination in admissions, for faculty hiring or curriculum design. But your study shows, for instance, that the curricula of the public sector is rather different from the private sector with regard to college prep orientation or dealing with vocational subjects. You, apparently, did not deal with the subject of discrimination in hiring faculties, but throughout the nonpublic sector there is, normally, religious discrimination in faculty hiring. And of course 90 percent or better of nonpublic schools are

religious institutions which have religious teaching, religious practices, et cetera. If, as you seem to favor either tax credits or vouchers -- and Senator Moynihan has already introduced such legislation -- do you think it would be proper in such legislation to prohibit any form of discrimination in admissions, in faculty hiring, in curriculum design, or in religious activities in the school which is also presently forbidden in the public schools?

DR. COLEMAN: No, I do not.

MR. DOERR: You don't want any restrictions?

DR. COLEMAN: No, I said I do not agree to the kinds of -- I do not agree to the kinds of proscriptions you indicated would be desirable.

MR. DOERR: I don't understand your answer. Would you clarify, please?

DR. COLEMAN: I'm not sure what you don't understand.

MR. WENK: Weren't you asking for a yes or no answer?

MR. DOERR: You do not favor prohibitions on these discriminations which are forbidden in public schools.

DR. COLEMAN: Would you indicate those again?

MR. DOERR: Public schools may not practice discrimination in admitting students along religious lines or behavior

I.Q., et cetera. They aren't permitted to practice discrimination in hiring along religious lines, and their curriculum is generally intended to be general or comprehensive in contrast to the average nonpublic curriculum which you have reported in your study. Further, nonpublic schools are distinguished in that they offer a great deal of religious instruction and some religious practice.

If we're going to have any form of vouchers or tax credits pumping Federal funds or State funds, or whatever, into the nonpublic schools, should they not be required to prohibit those forms of discrimination which are prohibited in public schools?

DR. COLEMAN: I would think that something similar to the kind of prescriptions that currently exist for the B(?) grants, for example, which are available to all sorts of private higher educational institutions would be a desirable kind of prescriptions to have. In other words, I would say that would be a useful guideline to be followed.

MR. WENK: Did you have that question addressed to someone else as well?

DR. DOERR: Yes. Mr. Finn has Senator Moynihan's view on that, or perhaps his own.

DR. FINN: First let me say on behalf of Senator

Moynihan, I really think you have to make a distinction of some consequence between tuition tax credits and vouchers. Senator Moynihan has not, to my knowledge, introduced a voucher bill, nor is a Federal voucher program a feasible thing even to think about so long as the Federal Government controls only eight percent of the money which is spent on elementary and secondary education. People are constantly misperceiving one for the other, and I think in terms of Federal policy they are nearly as different as day and night.

Now, as far as the terms that might appropriately be attached to a tuition tax credit program, let me first describe the bill that you have alluded to which requires that for a student to claim a credit, the school he attends must be a tax-exempt institution, which is to say non-profit, and must not discriminate in its admissions on the basis of race, color or ethnic origin.

MR. DOERR: They may discriminate by creed?

DR. FINN: Absolutely. And I will concede that this answer will not necessarily please anybody in the room, no matter which side of this debate they are on. I believe that, just as a religious college may discriminate by creed in its students and its faculty, and yet may continue to receive Federal aid of every kind, so may a religious private school at

the elementary and secondary level discriminate by creed in its students and in its faculty, and in anything else it wants to do. I think that is a, if I may say, God-given right of private schools.

MR. DOERR: Discrimination on the college level has been a little bit more lenient.

DR. FINN: Correct.

MR. WENK: Next question, please.

MR. UZZELL: My name is Larry Uzzell. I'm a graduate of public schools.

I was a little alarmed by something Gail Thomas said. I hope that my fellow public-school graduates will not hesitate to adopt educational reforms, simply because those reforms are already in place in private schools.

And there is one difference between public and private schools which I haven't heard anyone comment on yet. And this is this: if I want to teach in a public school after majoring in education or at least take some courses in education, but if I want to teach in a private school, I can concentrate exclusively on history or chemistry or some other real discipline.

Second, I haven't heard anyone comment on a Federal program which devotes its energies to making it as difficult as

possible for public schools to adopt the kinds of reforms you are talking about, and that is the Legal Services Corporation, which through its Center for Law and Education is busy fighting lawsuits, making it as hard as possible for schools to adopt any form of discriplinary practice, controlling groupies, tracking, requiring black English, testing and so on.

Does anyone up there think that the findings of this study have implications for either of those?

DR. COLEMAN: Yes. I certainly think the findings of the studies have implications for both, very definitely. I would agree with you.

DR. GREELEY: I would just simply add that over 90 percent of the Catholic high schools in the sample said they admitted non-Catholic students. So while they scarcely admit them -- Let me put it this way. I don't think they have much affirmative action going to put Protestants in the Catholic high schools. Most of the schools now are open to, and indeed, delighted by and treasure as a mark of pride the non-Catholic members that they have, and of course, as I said earlier this morning, half the blacks in Catholic schools are non-Catholic.

MR. WENK: May we have another question?

MR. PIERCE: My name is William Pierce. I'm executive director of the Council of Chief State School Officers.

I am a member of the educational establishment. When I consider what the public schools in this country have done for this nation over the years, on balance, I'm proud of that distinction.

I would like to ask a question in terms of the public financing. When one considers tuition tax credits, and no on at the table has addressed the question that this Administration has a mandate from the public to reduce public expenditures and this Administration is working very hard to eliminate uncontrollables, it seems to me that the tuition tax credit program is indeed an uncontrollable, and that it flies in the face of what the public has said to Mr. Reagan and the Administration that they really want done.

And I wonder why and how we can assume that the public would be willing to accept an additional uncontrollable expenditure, one that by Dr. Coleman's data suggests a 1.6 billion-dollar expenditure, if I read his report correctly, over 16,000 students the first year and other estimates that range clear up to, I think, four or five billion dollars.

I would just like to ask the question: what makes us think that the public really is ready for a tuition tax credit program which really swims in exactly the opposite direction, it seems to me, of the political mandate of the people.

DR. COLEMAN: Could I respond?

MR. WENK: Please do.

DR. COLEMAN: It may be a mistaken impression. I have never expressed my opinion one way or the other with regard to tuition tax credits, and I don't intend to do so now, because it's a more complex issue than anything that I have -- that I have not investigated.

And I simply want to say that not only with regard to tuition tax credits, but with regard to a wide variety of other things. It seems to me the implication of my report and Greeley's report is that there is some benefit in education to provide a greater choice for persons who ordinarily do not have the choice and persons who have the least choice in American society are not those who have the influence to move to suburbs, but actually those who don't have that influence, either by race or within central cities.

It seems to me the increase of choice would have greater effect for those persons than for anyone else.

DR. GREELEY: I would say there is an ever-increasing number of black and Hispanic parents who are voting with their feet in the opposite direction, and it may be possible that public-school administration should consider the fact that there's a message in that.

DR. FINN: I'm a little bit sorry to see this turn into a seminar on tuition tax credits. It's characteristic of events in Washington that however scholarly or even remote the subject matter that they always end up getting discussed in terms of that day's headlines. There is something to be said for holding seminars in Aspen. As a matter of fact, there are a lot of things to be said for holding seminars in Aspen.

I want to respond to Mr. Pierce. Even though it has, for better or worse, not fallen to me to have to defend the Reagan Administration, I think it is reasonably clear that there is going to be a large tax cut. The questions is: who gets it? People who put money in savings accounts? People who get married? People who have capital gains? People who sell real estate? People who have children in day-care centers? Someone is going to get the tax cut. It is very unlikely, desirable though it might be, that it is going to be a simple, across-the-board rate reduction for everybody.

Given that there is going to be a large tax cut and that somebody is going to get it, and that it is going to be allotted on the basis of certain forms of economic behavior, it is at least reasonable to think of a tuition tax credit as part of a tax

cut bill.

MR. WENK: Question here?

MR. GRAY: My name is Dennis Gray. I'm from the Council for Basic Education, and I'm hoping that James Coleman or Andrew Greeley, or anyone else, can help me sort out my confusion over why this program is billed under the title, "What we know about private schools."

It seems to me that the public-private debate is invidious and that the actual content of the whole day has been to discuss the difference between effective and ineffective schools. And while that is a line on which I would like to see Washington politics be drawn and policy debates proceed and all of the data here interpreted, and I'm wondering why of the four analyses announced that we're about to receive, this being the first, it's drawn along this particular line instead of one that I think a lot of people would find both germane and less divisive.

MR. WENK: Answer to part of your question. This is the first of the four that was ready to be made available.

DR. COLEMAN: Could I give another answer to that, and I would say it's maybe a little bit more than pure chance, but not very much more than pure chance. If I had had my choice as to which of the four studies I would have done, it

would have been on discipline, discipline and student behavior. However, that was chosen by another colleague of mine before I made my choice.

MR. GRAY: That's not the nub of my question.

DR. COLEMAN: Well, the nub of your question is that my report was then finished first.

MR. GRAY: The timing isn't the real issue.

DR. COLEMAN: I thought that--

MR. GRAY: The dichotomy, the framing of the debate.

MR. WENK: The public versus private distinction. The reason for that is simply because the analysis that was conducted had the results of the data that was taken, along with the mention of public and private schools. The consequence you draw was not definitional, regardless. If you choose to believe that that was the result and that that correlated with the initial definition of public versus private, people -- when they went into the study at the outset. I'm not sure that everybody here would agree with you, though, that the correlation of public-school benefit is private-school effective.

DR. FINN: I don't think Dennis was making that correlation or that assertion. I think he was saying that what is interesting to him, as I was trying to say earlier was

interesting to me, was that this data sheds light on the question of what kinds of school characteristics in whatever sector appear to be associated with academically successful students. That is a very interesting and important question.

My impression is that the data here, as further mined and refined and debated, do lend themselves to that kind of analysis. And a different set of questions can be made the focus of the analysis instead of a kind of incidental fringe benefit of the analysis.

MR. ? My name is Bernard ? I'm with the National Education Association.

I'd like to ask Dr. Coleman what kind of validating studies and field tests were done with the examinations that were administered to the students, and were there any checks made to determine whether or not those examinations might have better reflected the curriculum as taught in public schools as compared to private schools?

DR. COLEMAN: The tests were designed by the Educational Testing Service. There was, particularly with respect to -- well, only with respect to the sophomore tests, there was an attempt to make them relevant to curricula that did exist in the high schools. This was not possible for the senior tests because of the necessity to make the senior test

scores respond to the tests that were given in 1972. So that I think the senior tests, and therefore the subtests on which I made my comparisons, but not the ones on which Andrew Greeley did his, the subtests which involved -- which had comparable identical items for seniors and sophomores were not those involving specific subject-matter curricula in the senior high schools.

DR. GREELEY: I did some analysis of whether the various curricula -- and I think they factored out in four or five factors -- whether differences in curricula could account for the differences in academic performance, and I found no evidence that they did.

MR. WENK: Probably be able to take another three, maybe four questions.

MR. LAMBORN: Bob Lamborn. I'm interested in the discussion that's gone along today to hear the suggestion that the data on the private schools might be used in some occasions simply where they're successful as model data for public schools, and it seems to me that I've heard some folks saying that is somehow undemocratic and unwise.

It seems to me that the private schools have drawn a great deal of their strength from the things they learned from what is good in the public schools, and to suggest that

they weren't to use it, or that using it they were somehow less than noble, is unfortunate. I wonder if the study is going, Dr. Coleman, to concentrate not only on those things which separate good public schools from good private schools, but those things which are common to good public schools and the good private schools, so that both sets of schools can use those things which clearly work in both sets of schools.

DR. COLEMAN: There is a portion of our analysis in the last section of Chapter VI of our analysis which does address itself very directly to that question. It seems to me to be an important question. That is the question of what are the characteristics of good schools, whether they're in the public sector or private sector. I think it's a very important question and we have addressed it to some degree. I hope to do so to a greater degree.

MR. WENK: If I may add the tapes, data, has been available for a while. I think that kind of analysis can be conducted from many quarters. The data is available to all.

MS. GREEN: My name is Marjorie Green. Education policy fellow in the Department of Education this year.

I have a question about the role of parents in achievement. Parents who send their children to private schools make certain kinds of commitments to their children's

education, and parents who send their children to the public schools make their commitments in other ways. There is some evidence for a relationship between achievement and parental involvement that centers mostly on younger children.

My question is: did you look at patterns of parents' participation or consider looking at them in these studies and the expectations for parental role in both sectors and within each sector?

DR. COLEMAN: We have not done so yet. There has been data collected on parents for a subset of these students in all sectors, and there will be analyses, I'm certain, of that sort carried out. Those data are just now coming to be available.

DR. GREELEY: In the school-principal survey, for whatever it's worth, the principal was asked to evaluate how interested the parents were in the school. So there is a measure, however crude, of parental involvement in the school. It doesn't do much, I don't think.

MS. GREEN: One way to prepare a control for parental commitment which he was talking about would be to look at public schools that children attend because their parents have chosen them from alternatives, and that gives you some comparable amount, not exactly, but is it possible to

do that with this data, and have you done so, or do you plan to do so?

DR. COLEMAN: That's a very good suggestion. We have not done so. But I think it is possible to do so with these data groups. I think there was a question asked in the principal questionnaire which allows one to differentiate schools with respect to that. That's a very good point.

MR. DOERR: A couple of quickies for Mr. Finn.

Earlier you mentioned, of course, that Senator Moynihan had not introduced a voucher bill, but we all know that. We all know the technical differences between vouchers and tax credits. How would you respond to the comment by Christopher Jenks who is the author of the Nixon Administration voucher plan that tuition tax credits are, in effect, exactly the same thing as an unregulated voucher plan?

My second question to you is, you just remarked a moment ago that we're going to have a big tax cut this year. Why not dish some of the tax cut out in the form of tuition tax credits? But as Dr. Coleman's report shows, the sector of the population, that ten percent which has children in nonpublic schools is a significantly more affluent population on the average than the public-school parents.

Are you saying that Senator Moynihan and you believe

that tax cuts should be given to the more affluent in preference to the less affluent?

DR. FINN: As far as Christopher Jencks, I think he is a terrific sociologist, and I am a great admirer of his. As far as who should get a tax cut, I think that the purpose of a refundable tuition tax credit is to make it possible for low-income people to do what higher-income people can already do without any assistance from the Government.

MR. DOERR: Is that about as theoretical as the Kemp-Roth tax cut?

DR. FINN: No.

MR. WENK: Do we have any more questions? If not, I'd like to call this to a close.

Thank you very much.

(Whereupon at 4:55 p.m. the conference was concluded.)

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